“*Nova francia*”?:

Kinship and Identity among the Frankish Aristocracy

in Conquered Byzantium, 1204-1282

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Abstract

In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, a community of Flemish and French aristocrats, known to historians as the Franks, settled in Constantinople and other conquered Byzantine lands. This community was a small elite, ruling over indigenous populations in unfamiliar lands, and they came to think and act in ways foreign to their kin and colleagues in the west. This dissertation brings together western and eastern sources to consider the Franks' relationship to the west and their interactions with neighbors and subjects.

The dissertation explores the transforming identities of the Franks in Constantinople from their installment in 1204, through exile in 1261, to the final major push to retake the city in 1282. The first generation, representated by the Flemish emperors Baudouin I and Henri, retained its western affiliations and prejudices, but was increasingly willing to make alliances and enter into marriages with neighboring powers. The Courtenays, who came to power after Henri's death in 1216, brought with them a closeness to the Capetian monarchy and the papacy which shaped the Latin Empire's relationship with the west until the mid-1240s. The 1230s and the arrival of Jean de Brienne as regent-emperor saw a deepening reliance on the west culminating in Baudouin II's two trips to the west. The failure of papal and Capetian support to result in sufficient aid resulted in an expansion of Frankish appeals to the Hohenstaufen and Spanish rulers. This wider net characterized the search for aid after the Byzantines retook the city in 1261 as well.

During these decades, the Franks pulled back from engagement with their neighbors and the pursuit of alliances with them, focusing instead on western aid. I argue that this reorientation and the Franks' communication with the west create false impressions of continued prejudice against eastern neighbors and of a lasting, unaltered western identity. The Franks' actions, including disengagement from their western land, describe more flexible attitudes than their language suggests. Even in their limited time in Constantinople, the Franks made a varying set of accommodations to life in the east and the resulting culture was neither fully western nor wholly other.

Contents

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At Princeton, I have been blessed with wonderful teachers and readers. William Chester Jordan encouraged me to read generously and to think critically. His own work stands a model for weaving archival documents into an elegant story. Over the years, he has become a valued friend as well as trusted critic, and I look forward to the continuation of both relationships. Conversations with Peter Brown have planted seeds in my work that may take years to see fruition. I come back again and again to the unexpected questions he asked and connections he made. In a year devoted to her own research, Tia Kolbaba accompanied me on an exploration of the relations between Byzantium and the West. Our conversations stimulated my thinking and guided me to

the Latin Empire. Molly Greene graciously read several chapters of this dissertation at short notice. Her queries about context and purpose forced me to articulate answers that I had previously taken for granted. At the end of this process, John Haldon's challenge that identity and culture be brought explicitly to the fore shaped my introduction and has become central to my thinking about how to push this project forward. I am extremely grateful for Anne Lester's willingness to read and engage with my work. Her thoughtful and wide-ranging comments will guide my revisions and her enthusiasm has provided a much welcome lift at the end of the journey.

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Many others have contributed, in ways large and small, to the completion of this project. At the very end, Magdalena Alagna's sharp eye for inconsistencies saved me

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I have known Katy Tischler since before either of us can remember. What I know of friendship, I discovered first with her. Her son, Owen Jolles, has taught me many things about trains, trucks, and, of course, the depths of love. At the Horseshoe and the Mothership, at the Annex and Butler, at Johnny's and Queer Soup, the following people (and too many others to fit here) have brought me joy, comforted me, and helped me laugh at myself and the universe: Elizabeth Siegel Abram, Tomara Aldrich, Emily Barabas, James Byrne, Thomas Boeve, Peggy Carr, Damián Fernández, Fran Hutchins, Maya Soifer Irish, Laura Kalba, Nancy Khalek, Jennifer Kingsley, Jamie Kreiner, Manning Krull, Noah Lansner, Ayelet Leibovitch, Tamara Mahoney, Kamdyn Moore, Edward Muston, Kate and Matt O'Brien, Daniel Schwartz, Brian Squibb, Jack Tannous, Annie Twitty, Keri Walsh, Eric Yellin, LJ folks, and the SBLS crew, particularly Meghan Faux, Marie Tatro and Ryan, Shantonu Basu, Cathy Bowman, Nandini Chandrasekaran, Herman De Jesus, Emilie Eagan, Catherine Hagarty, Laurie Izutsu-Keener, Pete Kempner, Pavita Krishnaswamy, Jennifer Light, Hannah Roman, Sonja Shield, Jennifer Sinton, and Navid Vazire. It is a privilege to know them.

My siblings, Alison, Duncan, Nellie and Hadiya, are responsible, I like to think, for both my virtues and my faults. We love, frustrate, and admire each other. That they are also my friends is a gift beyond measure. The determination of my grandparents, John and Jo Hicks and Paul and Helen Gilles, continues to awe me. I love them all very much.

This dissertation is, and must be, dedicated to my parents, Timothy and Sealy Gilles. Their encouragement and support – emotional, financial, intellectual and practical – has made everything else possible. My mother, in addition, has been a treasure trove of advice on all things academic. I can only hope to imitate, in some small way, their generosity – not only towards their children, but also towards their relatives, friends, neighbors, colleagues, students, fellow dogwalkers, and the other random connections they welcome into their home and lives.

A Note on Transliteration and Names

Instead of Anglicizing all proper names, I generally give the names of persons and places in the modern form that reflects their cultural origin or location. I also preserve the "de" of French names. Thus, Pierre II de Courtenay instead of Peter II of Courtenay and Geoffroy de Villehardouin instead of Geoffrey of Villehardouin. Greek names and terms are translated as closely as possible, following the forms in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*.

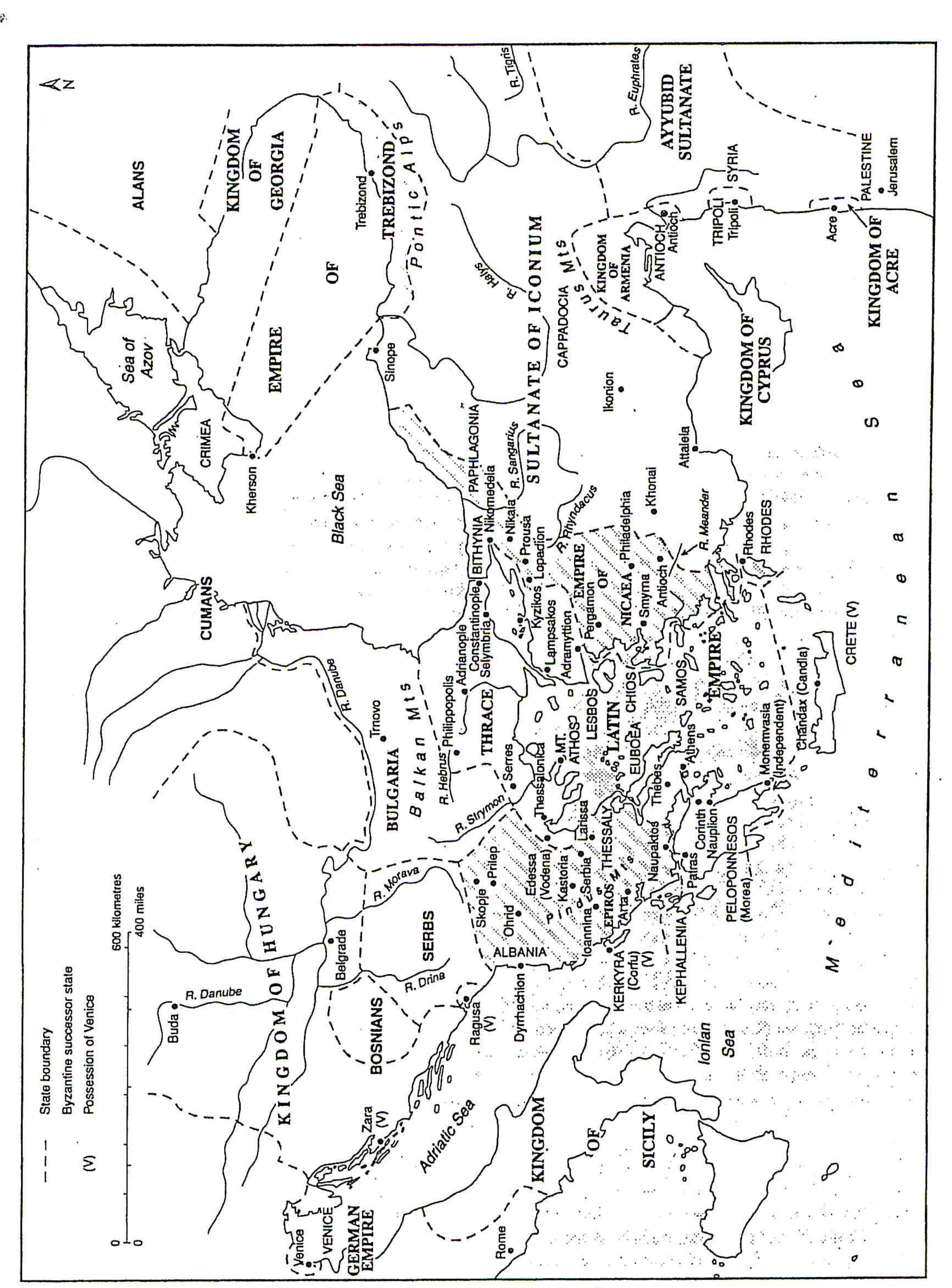
The names of kings, western emperors, and popes are given in their English versions, as are Greek persons and places where the closer transliteration seems awkward. Thus, Philip Augustus, Gregory IX, and Nicaea.

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Following scholarly usage, I use "Frank" to describe individuals who came from Franco-Flemish lands and settled in conquered Byzantine territories, as well as their descendents who remained in the east. This term originates in the Byzantine practice of calling western Europeans *phrangoi*. In modern scholarship, Frank has been used to describe Latin Christians who settled in areas conquered in the crusades, whether in the Aegean or the Holy Land. It distinguishes these individuals from their eastern neighbors and western Europeans, as well as the Venetians and Lombards who made up the other communities in the Latin Empire.

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	Archives Départementales (Yonne)
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
Arsenal	Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal, Paris
JS	*Journal des savants*
MGH Const	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*. Hanover, 1826-1934.
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*. 32 vols. Hanover and Leipzig, 1826-1934.
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, ed. J. P. Migne, 161 vols. Paris, 1857-1866.
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris, 1844-1864.
RHC Occ	*Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux*. 5 vols. Paris, 1844-1895.
RHGF	*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*. Ed. Martin Bouquet et al., 24 vols. Paris, 1738-1904.
RISS	*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Ed. Ludovicus Antonius Muratorius, 25 vols. Mediolani, 1723-1751.



Map 9.3 The Fourth Crusade, the Latin empire and the empire of Nicaea.

INTRODUCTION

In 1243, Baudouin II de Courtenay, a Franco-Flemish aristocrat, a relative of the French king's, and the Latin emperor of Constantinople, wrote to Blanche of Castile, the Queen Mother of France and his cousin and aunt by marriage. The Latin emperor denied a report that he had Greeks in his council, assuring Blanche that he depended solely on the "council of the noble and good men of France who are among us."[1] Despite being born and raised in Constantinople, he affirmed his identification with the land his parents came from. Moreover, in a tone that one historian has called "almost tearful," he stated his absolute dependence on Blanche herself and on her son Louis IX.[2] In a second letter, Baudouin II broached the astonishing possibility of an alliance with the Muslim sultan. To confirm the alliance, a marriage was required and he sought the Queen Mother's help in persuading his sister to send her daughter to marry the sultan. In this letter, Baudouin II emphasized the distance between him and Blanche, explaining the customs and practices in "these parts" in contrast to those in Europe.[3]

These letters fascinate me. They mirror the complexity that almost forty years of residence in Constantinople had created for (and in) the once-Westerners and their descendants who lived and ruled there. Writing in the same year to the same correspondent, Baudouin II reinscribed the tie between the Franks and France but set them apart. The Franks were living in "these parts" and, as a result, were ensconsed in

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[1] F. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores* (Paris, 1636), V: 424-26: "consilio nobilium ac bonorum virorum Francie."
[2] Robert Lee Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)" (Harvard University, History, 1947), p. 614.
[3] Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, pp 424-26: "Multi etiam nobiles Pagani in partibus illis habent uxores Christianas, quae in lege sua assidue perseuerant, videlicet Grecae, Armeniacae, Tuerae, et Rossae."

a cultural environment where different expectations—vastly different ones—were the norm. Yet, they were still, in the eyes of their emperor, "men of France." The distance did not negate this affiliation.

These letters are insistent reminders that the individuals populating this study were real people, whom we inadequately reconstruct from collections of documents and artifacts. They built personal relationships and made missteps in them. They sought approval. They had crazy ideas—that Blanche of Castile would support a marriage between a French noblewoman and the sultan—but strove to justify them. The state that the Franks created failed, but they were willing to invest a significant amount of energy to gain help for it and preserve or recover it. It is the label of "failure," in fact, that I most resist. The Latin Empire only existed for fifty-seven years, and for many of those years its weakness was on parade throughout Europe in the form of pleas for aid. Yet, the end does not tell us everything—one of the contentions of this dissertation is that it may tell us very little or, rather, something different from what seems apparent. To cite just one example—the failure to mount a crusade to recover the Latin Empire did reflect a prioritization of the Holy Land over Constantinople. Yet, the evolving plans for one also reveal the place of the Eastern empire and its emperor in Western imaginations and desires.

The questions raised by letters are touchstones in this dissertation. What did it mean, in Baudouin II's eyes, to be "of France"? What did Blanche think when she read of the proposed marriage of a French noblewoman and a Muslim sultan? Who were the men in Constantinople and how did they define their own membership in the various communities—political, cultural, religious—to which they belonged? How did others

perceive them? These letters offer an explicit rendering of what is so often implicit. In them, Baudouin II gave voice to sentiments of belonging and identity, sentiments more often seen sidewise and faintly. This dissertation seeks those tantalizing whispers in the writing and actions of the Franks and weaves them into a story of adaptation and conservatism.

Ethnicity, Identity, and Frontiers

This dissertation is, above all, a study of a community. It explores the transforming identities of the Franks in Constantinople from their installment in 1204, through their exile in 1261, to the final major push to retake the city in 1282. I trace the Franks finding their feet, so to speak, in their new environments, adapting to new circumstances and abandoning old prejudices. Entering Constantinople in 1204, the Fourth Crusaders assumed the mantle of the Byzantine Empire and looked to its territory as their own. In the early years, the necessities of rule often outstripped the Franks' mental horizons and they engaged in behavior, most particularly marriages, that clashed with their prejudices. As time went on, the opinions of the Franks softened toward their neighbors and they began to see them as appropriate partners and legitimate allies. In the 1230s, the imperial heir Baudouin II traveled to the West. He or his wife Marie was in the West for almost the whole period until the fall of the Latin Empire in 1261, when they permanently (although reluctantly) made their home there. The descendants of men who brought Western Christianity and Franco-Flemish culture to the East returned to Europe with their Eastern priorities, ambitions, and titles.

Before embarking on the project, it is appropriate to offer some thoughts on ethnic identity and, more broadly, on communal identity and frontier societies in the

Middle Ages. The question of ethnicity, a category often linked to nationalism and the rise of the nations, has found a sometimes uncomfortable home in medieval scholarship.[4] Medieval people demonstrated affinities with others, based around the perception of cultural similarities and linked to an understanding of origin and transgenerational membership. The boundaries surrounding these communities were maintained, often by external markers such as hairstyle, language, and religious practice, and were traversed in various ways. Some identities were more easily adopted, discarded, or transformed than were others. These cultural identities interacted with political, religious, and occupational or class (to use another imported and contentious term) affiliations in a complex and highly contingent way.[5]

Because of the nature of the sources, which will be discussed below, it is very difficult to speak of the internal characteristics of Frankish culture and society. We are on much firmer ground in discussing their relations with others—whether allies or enemies, neighbors or far-off correspondents. In thinking about communal identity in this context, Fredrick Barth's article, written more than forty years ago now, remains pivotal. In it, he suggested that scholars conceive of ethnicity in terms of the boundaries that circumscribed various communities rather than the cultures within those boundaries. He regarded culture "as an implication or result, rather than a primary and definitional characteristic of ethnic group organization."[6] Instead of seeing ethnicity as a product of culture, he identified the most important feature of ethnic groups as the

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[4] See the attempts made to reconcile national identity and medieval circumstances in Simon Forde, Leslie Johnson, and Alan V. Murray, eds., *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995).

[5] See for example Gill Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity Before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[6] Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969).

“self-ascription and ascription by others. A categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background.”[7] In a volume discussing Barth’s work, the editors asserted that “ethnic identities are products of classification, ascription and self-ascription and bound up with ideologies of descent.”[8] A more recent definition, given by Gill Page in a study of Byzantine Roman identity, articulated these features clearly and is worth quoting in its entirety:

> Ethnicity, or ethnic identity, is a property of a group. It is a faith on the part of the members of the group that they are in some sense the same, and that this sameness is rooted in a racial kinship stretching into the past. Further, this act of faith is inherently defensive—it arises and gains its strength from a contrast with another group (or groups), who are seen as not the same, and as presenting a threat to the survival or at least prosperity of one’s own group.[9]

The emphasis on boundaries posits that ethnic identity requires a group of people outside the boundary. Without the oppositional group, the ethnic group does not exist. Moreover, as Barth argued, the key aspects of ethnic identity are the markers that, in the eyes of the members, distinguish their group from another, not an outsider’s or scholar’s perspective.[10] These insights are particularly significant in the case of the Franks. Their relocation from Europe resulted in an entirely new set of oppositional groups. As we will see, this meant the elision of divides inherited from Europe (the French-Flemish one most obviously). Moreover, Baudouin II’s correspondence with Blanche reveals that his understanding of acceptable boundary transgression,

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[7] Ibid., p. 13.
[8] Fredrik Barth, “Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity,” in *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries"*, ed. Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers (Amsterdam: Hague, Netherlands, 1994), p. 4.
[9] Page, *Being Byzantine*, p. 11.
[10] Barth, “Enduring and Emerging Issues,” p. 12.

specifically with regard to intermarriage and political participation, came to differ from hers.

This view of ethnic identity has been suggestive in the medieval context. Two communities in particular are worth mentioning here for the light they shed on Frankish society: the Venetians in Crete and the Anglo-Irish in Ireland. In both cases, the conquerors sought to rule over their new possessions through an elite sent from the homeland. These elites evolved over time into what in the Irish context was called a "middle nation." Neither Irish nor any longer truly English, the ruling class In Ireland came into conflict with both. To the dismay of the English, they "forsaking the English language, fashion, mode of riding, laws and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion and language of the Irish enemies."[11] Yet, the Irish also complained that the Anglo-Irish were dangerous and treacherous, ruling unjustly, creating trouble, and not rendering to the English king what was his due.[12] The Irish, in other words, claimed to be more loyal than the Anglo-Irish to whom the land was entrusted. In Crete, a similar dynamic emerged. The Venetians who settled in Crete crossed the boundaries separating them from the Greek inhabitants—adopting Greek language, marrying Greek women or entering into nonmarital sexual unions with them, patronizing Greek religious institutions, and adopting Greek styles.[13] In the fourteenth century, the antagonism between the government in Venice and the Venetians in Crete became so extreme that the latter rebelled.[14] In these two places, the experience of

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[11] From the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366, quoted in James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003), p. 43.
[12] Ibid., p. 41.
[13] Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp 100-32.
[14] Ibid., pp 133-67.

living among and ruling a different ethnic group caused the ruling elite to transform itself in ways that marked them as not-English or not-Latin, as the case may be.

Although there are many examples of the redrawing of cultural boundaries and the redefining of acceptable transgressions in Constantinople, it is far from clear that the Franks took on a distinct ethnic identity that set them apart from Europeans. Unlike the Venetians in Crete or the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, the Franks were not in Constantinople for long enough to develop a feeling of descent distinct from their European origins. Quite the opposite, the Franks emphasized their kin relationships with European ancestors, siblings, and cousins. Their actions and writings display a new sense of communal identity, but insofar as historians can see into the often-veiled world of Constantinople, this identity did not differ enough from that of Western Christendom to permit us to speak of a separate ethnic group.

Here, again, Barth and those writing after him are useful in reminding us that culture and ethnicity do not need to be wholly bound together. The Franks' writings and actions demonstrate a communal identity lodged in a sense of place. Their origin in the West, more particularly France and Flanders, their permanent residence in Constantinople, and their continued ties to their lands of origin defined their community. At least these are the aspects that we can see. Religion also played a part, although the evidence is much more mixed in that area. In the end, little is known about the Franks' religious practices and so little can be ascertained about the role that religion played in their identity vis-à-vis their neighbors. In communications with Europe, religion played a large role. The bonds between the Franks and Europe were most often expressed in terms of kinship and Christianity, although Baudouin II and

Marie also fought to preserve ties that drew upon their territorial base in France and Namur. The papal rhetoric certainly suggests a strong religious identity and a stark divide with the Byzantines but, as we will see, the Franks' actions frequently contradicted this language. During Henri's reign, adherents to the Eastern rite approached him to provide protection against papal demands. This discrepancy suggests that the Franks expressed this aspect of their identity differently depending on the audience.

Their remembered origin combined with a commitment to permanent settlement distinguished the Franks from both their neighbors and their kin. Even if we set aside the question of ethnicity per se, the work of Barth and subsequent scholars draws our attention inexorably to the boundaries between the Franks and others. Luckily, it is these boundaries that can be seen most clearly—both explicitly, when the emperor Henri spoke to his daughter of her Bulgarian fiance's savagery, and implicitly, when the barons turned to a French nobleman rather than the Bulgarian tsar to assume the imperial regency. Years later, Philippe de Toucy entertained Louis IX's men with stories of Franco-Cuman alliances—stories that revealed the boundary between the Franks and the Cumans in its transversing but also the boundary between the storyteller and the Western crusaders.

In 2002, Nora Berend, in a preface to a collection of essays, noted that the study of "the medieval frontier" and "frontier societies" had recently enjoyed a burst of popularity.[15] In addition to that book, other collections of essays, edited by Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay, and Michel Balard and

[15] David Abulafia and Nora Berend, eds., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002).

Alain Ducellier, have addressed aspects of diverse frontier experiences, including Iberia, Wales, Denmark, Ireland, Byzantium, China, Lithuania, Hungary, Crimea, Cyprus, and the Levant.[16] Internal frontiers, such as those created by church reform in England, have also been explored. In 2006, a collection of essays stemming from the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies three years earlier addressed a dizzying array of frontiers, frontier peoples, and frontier artifacts, ranging from the status of Finns in Sweden to Hebrew manuscript production.

The notion of a frontier or frontier society has different meanings. In Giles Constable's view, the medieval world was filled with indefinite divisions where each side bled into the other—between kingdoms, ecclesiastical and secular spheres, canon and civil law, different occupations and levels of freedom and nobility, religions, the earthly and the divine, living and dead, languages, and so on. Constable's scope, and that of the collection in which his article appears, is so broad that every divide, it seems, creates a frontier and in these frontiers categories blur and overlap. Although his emphasis on these divisions as "less stable and more porous" and his move to see them "less as dividers than as points of contact" are well taken, the ever-expanding scope of the concept undercuts the power of the frontier as an analytical tool.[17]

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[16] Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, eds., *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1999); Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, eds., *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Michel Balard, ed., *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance* (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1989).

[17] Giles Constable, "Introduction," in *Frontiers in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies (Jyväskylä, 10-14 June 2003)*, ed. O. Merisalo (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 2006), p. 6. Zaroui Pogossian's article on the Armenian church's response to claims of Roman primacy, for example, makes an important point about how increased understanding of Rome's argument, in this case, created resistance in the Armenian church. Where the frontier is here, however, is less clear. Zaroui Pogossian, "The Armenian Reaction to the Concept of the Primacy of the Roman Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Frontiers in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the Third European Congress of Medieval Studies (Jyväskylä, 10-14 June 2003)*, ed. O. Merisalo (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 2006), 259-90.

Other scholars have articulated more bounded understandings of frontiers. Powers drew a distinction between the concept of a political frontier and that of a frontier of settlement. In the first, frontiers are political boundaries or borders and operate as “zones of passage and contact.” In the second, frontiers are zones of settlement dividing civilization from wilderness.[18] Setting aside Frederick Turner’s notion of American exceptionalism and the civilized-wild divide, medieval historians have found fruitful his rendering of the dynamism created in the frontier. Powers placed studies of frontier societies into three categories: the settlement-wilderness divide, “sharp clashes at the fringes of expanding societies,” and “political borders as zones of passage and contact.” These categories, while encompassing various aspects of frontier societies, do not quite suit our purposes. The story of the Latin Empire includes aspects of all three models. Western Christendom, including the first generation of settlers, regarded the Bulgarians and, even more so, the Cumans as barbarian peoples. Early marriages between the Franks and the Bulgarians revealed the barbaric-civilized divide. The conquest of Constantinople marked one of the great attempts to expand Western Christendom and resulted in clashes. Yet, the expansion quickly turned sour as the growing power of the Greek states and the Bulgarians buffeted the Franks. Finally, the borders between the Latin Empire and its neighbors created opportunities for increased contact and communication. Thus, while Powers’s categories are helpful in identifying relevant issues, they do not provide a template for this study.

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[18] Daniel Power and Naomi Standen, “Introduction,” in *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700-1700* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1999), pp 10-11.

David Abulafia has proposed an understanding of the medieval frontier as "a conceptual tool used by historians in a wide variety of ways to make sense of social and political developments in those areas of medieval Europe where the predominant values and assumptions of Latin Christendom encountered (or indeed collided with) the values and assumptions of other societies; and pari passu for Byzantium and its own neighbors."[19] The Latin Empire, of course, fits with Constable's view of frontiers. But, more usefully, the Latin Empire is a prime example of Abulafia's frontier. The Franks' entrance into Constantinople brought the Fourth Crusaders into unexpected and intimate contact with unfamiliar cultures. They found, to the north, Bulgarians and Cumans, to the south and east, Turks, and, everywhere it seemed, displaced Byzantines eager to return to their ancient capital. In Constantinople and the other lands they occupied, they had to learn how to rule in a Byzantine context. Although a focus on communal boundaries allows us to track the changing self-ascription of the Franks and their essential cultural characteristics, the identification of the Latin Empire as a frontier society helps us make sense of these and other changes in Frankish culture and their own relationships with neighbors and faraway allies (or enemies).

Sources and Historiography

Evidence is sadly lacking for many aspects of the Latin Empire. Narrative sources from Constantinople itself disappear after Henri de Valenciennes's account comes to an end barely five years after the city's capture.[20] Instead, historians are

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[19] Abulafia and Berend, *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, p. 5.
[20] Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," in *Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin conquête de Constantinople, avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Libraire de Firmin-Didot, 1882), 305-421. See the commentaries in Gaston Paris, "Henri de Valenciennes," *Romania* 19 (1890): 62-72; Jean Longnon, "Sur l'histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople par Henry de Valanciennes," *Romania* 69 (1946): 198-241. This lack of narrative sources produced in Constantinople does not only impede our understanding of the internal workings of the Latin Empire, it

dependent on Western and Byzantine narratives. Until the early 1240s, the Western accounts of Aubri de Trois-Fontaines and Philippe Mouskès provide crucial information. Georgius Akropolites' history is the most informative from the Byzantine side, although Georgius Pachymeres's and Nikephoros Gregoras's are also useful and Nicetas Choniates's provides a famous account of the fall of Constantinople.[21] If a central register or copy of documents produced by the Frankish government survived the recapture of the city in 1261, it has long been lost. Many communications from the Latin Empire are known only from the responses to them or from their capture in narrative accounts.[22]

The lack of information makes it tempting to look beyond Constantinople to the Franks in Greece and the Aegean Islands in order to complete the picture. These societies were also established in the wake of the Fourth Crusade and they were tied, through loose but important bonds, to the Latin Empire. Yet very different circumstances governed the fates of the principality of Morea (or Achaia), the duchy of Athens and Thebes, Negropont, and the other islands. These communities outlasted the

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also makes impossible, for example, the kind of analysis undertaken by Rebeca W. Corrie, Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona, and Bianca Kühnel in Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney, eds., *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[21] Georgius Acropolites, *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903). Translation in Georgios Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, trans. Ruth Macrides, Oxford Studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Nicetas Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Ionnes Aloysius van Dieten, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae; Ser. Berolinensis (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter et socios, 1975). Translation in Nicetas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. Harry Magoulias, Byzantine Texts in Translation (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984). Nicephoros Gregoras, *Historia byzantina*, Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (Bonn, 1829). Georges Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. Albert Failler, trans. Vitalien Laurent (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1984).

[22] Hendrickx did a remarkable job in compiling an accounting of the documents known to historians, either directly or indirectly. Benjamin Hendrickx, *Regestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272)*, Byzantina (Thessaloniki: Byzantine Research Centre, 1988). See the survey of surviving documents from the eastern Mediterranean in Alexander Daniel Beihammer, "Introduction," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Maria G Parani, Christopher David Schabel, and Alexander Daniel Beihammer, The Medieval Mediterranean 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp 10-17.

Latin Empire and, because of their longevity and their control over rural areas, provided much greater opportunity for sustained interaction between the Franks and the Greeks they ruled.[23] Moreover, compared to the Latin Empire, the societies in southern Greece have left an abundance of documentation, particularly in the form of the *Chronicle of Morea* and the *Assizes of Romania*.[24] It is tempting to use these sources to fill in lacunae in our understanding of the Latin Empire, even when they do not directly speak to its history. The other Frankish communities in the Aegean will, of course, come into the story presented here. It would be misleading to leave them out. Yet, they come in as backdrop and ancillary players in the region not, or rather very rarely, as stand-ins for the Latin Empire. At times, silence is all we can hear from eight hundred years ago.

The Latin Empire occupies a liminal position in medieval history. Established in Constantinople from 1204 to 1261, but, uncoupled from Byzantine traditions by the conquest, it has no natural home in a discrete scholarly field. Byzantinists and Western medievalists alike tend to regard the Latin Empire as an aberration not worth sustained attention. In crusade studies, scholars have demonstrated great interest in the Fourth Crusade, but less attention has been paid to the empire it created. Although the crusader

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[23] See, for example, Jeannine Horowitz, "Quand les Champenois parlaient le Grec: La Morée franque au XIIIe siècle, un bouillon de culture," in *Cross-cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1995), 111-150.

[24] G. Recoura, ed., *Les assizes de Romanie: édition critique avec une introduction et des notes*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études (Paris, 1930). Alfred Morel-Fatio, ed., *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea compilado por commandamieno de Don Fray Johan Ferrandez de Heredia maestro del Hospital de S. Johan de Jerusalem. Chronique de Morée aux XIIIe et XIVe siècle.* (Geneva, 1885); Jean Longnon, ed., *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée: Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)* (Paris: Librairie de la société de l'histoire de France, 1911); John Schmitt, ed., *The Chronicle of Morea. To Chronikon tou Moreos* (London, 1904); Charles Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873).

states in the Holy Land have merited a great deal of interest, only recently has scholarly interest turned, and even now only slightly, to their companion in Constantinople.[25]

Although details are best addressed as they arise, a brief survey of recent work is useful in establishing the contours of the field. Since the 1940s, Benjamin Hendrickx, David Jacoby, Jean Longnon, and Robert Wolff have led the way in writing histories of the Latin Empire and its principals. Longnon's *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée,* published in 1949, remains essential.[26] Like other authors, he lauded the second Latin emperor, Henri, and dismissed the contributions of later emperors, providing only a very abbreviated description of the empire after 1230. His book, although offering a useful summary, tends to glide over the documents themselves, with few footnotes to point the reader in the right direction. Other works by Longnon, including a catalog of Fourth Crusaders and a number of articles concerning life in the Frankish states, round out to some extent the portrait in his book.[27]

Hendrickx, Jacoby, and Wolff, along with others, provide depth and analysis to Longnon's history. Wolff's dissertation, *The Latin Empire,* was unfortunately never published, but, supplemented by his numerous articles, has been invaluable in this

[25] Heidi Bridger had embarked on a study of Frankish settler societies, including the Latin Empire, but informed me she has since abandoned the project. Brendan McGuire at the University of Saint Louis is, I believe, studying relations between the Latin and Greek churches in the early years of the thirteenth century.
[26] Jean Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris: Bibliothèque historique, 1949).
[27] Jean Longnon, "La campagne de Henri de Hainaut en Asie mineur en 1211," *Bulletin de la classe des lettres de l'académie royale de Belqique* 34 (1948): 442-52; "La reprise de Salonique par les Grecs en 1224," *Actes du VIe Congrés International d'Étides Byzantines* I (1950): 141-146; "La vie rurale dans la Grèce franque," *JS* (1965): 343-357; *Les compagnons de Villehardouin: Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1978); "Les premiers ducs d'Athènes et leur famille," *JS* (1973): 61-80; "Les Toucy en Orient et en Italie au treizième siècle," *Bulletin de La Société des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l'Yonne* 96 (1957): 3-11; "Problèmes de l'histoire de la principauté de Morée," *JS* (1946): 77-92; 147-61; *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffrey de Villehardouin* (Paris: É. Champion, 1939); "Sur l'histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople par Henry de Valanciennes"

study.[28] Working from the available primary sources, Wolff reconstructed in great detail the history of the Latin Empire and the activities of its principals, supporters, enemies, and neighbors. His focus on the Latin Empire did not prevent him from seeing events in Western Europe. Unlike Longnon, Wolff provided extensive footnotes and transcriptions of original primary sources. My analysis departs from his, in particular in his assessment of the capacities and prejudices of various individuals. Much work has been done on frontier societies since his studies and a greater appreciation for the creative adaptations of the individuals in them. His disdain for Baudouin II, for example, prevented him from a full appreciation of that emperor's efforts to preserve and strengthen his position. My differences with Wolff, however, which are more explicit in these pages than are the many moments of convergence, should not be taken to imply a generalized disagreement with his work, to which I owe a great deal.

Benjamin Hendrickx published articles and the register of known documents produced by the Latin emperors and the regency governments. This work, like Wolff's, is invaluable for identifying sources and assessing their reliability. A quick glance through the pages reveals that the documentation for the first twelve years of the Latin Empire, the reigns of Baudouin II and Henri, vastly outstrips that of the later period. Three of Hendrickx's articles deal with the institutions of the Latin Empire, including

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[28] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)". His articles include: "A New Document from the Period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Oath of the Venetian Podestà," *Annuaire de L'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* XII (1953): 539-73; "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225," *Speculum* 27, no. 3 (1952): 281-322; "Hopf's so-called 'Fragmentum' of Marino Sanudo Torsello," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York: Jewish Social Studies, Publication V, 1953), 149-59; "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* XXIX (1954): 45-84; "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* VIII (1954): 228-303; "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* XXIII (1948): 1-34; "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," in *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 187-233; "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* II (1944): 213-237; "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261: Social and Administrative Consequences of the Latin Conquest," *Traditio* VI (1948): 33-60.

the emperor, the empress, the regents and regency councils, diplomatic envoys, and the chancery. He concluded that the Latin Empire was basically a Western empire, with the exception of titles and ceremonies. The functioning of the government and its relations with other powers operating within its borders, such as the Venetians and the Frankish princes in Greece, were based on a Western model of feudalism and household government. Although my work does not tackle Hendrickx's central question—the nature and structure of the government—I do emphasize the often un-Western cultural milieu that emerged in Constantinople. Moreover, in my opinion, Hendrickx's institutional view did not place enough emphasis on the practical role of the barons within the government.

For the role of the Venetians in the Latin Empire, David Jacoby's prolific body of work, which contains a number of important studies about Venetian communities in the Aegean and the Frankish settlements in Greece, is indispensable.[29] The individual studies come together to paint a portrait of important aspects of life in the Franco-Venetian East. Two pieces, in particular, separated by thirty-five years, address the relations between Franks and Greeks and have been particularly influential in my thinking about cross-cultural interactions.[30] His assessment of the Greek population of Constantinople argued that "despite Latin immigration, the Greeks remained an

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[29] See the multiple Variorum reprints of his articles: *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot England: Ashgate/Variorum, 2001); *Commercial exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot England: Ashgate/Variorum, 2005); *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle: peuples, sociétés, économies* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979); *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1975); *Trade, commodities and shipping in the medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1997). See pp 22-24 below for a discussion of the status of the Venetians in Constantinople.

[30] David Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesos after the Fourth Crusade," *American Historical Review* LXXVIII (1973): 873-906; David Jacoby, "The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin Rule 1204-1261," in *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions*, ed. Thomas F Madden, Crusades 2 (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2008), 184.

overwhelming majority among Constantinople's inhabitants in the Latin period" and that this necessarily resulted in mixed marriages and nonmarital sexual relationships.[31] Jacoby's argument for their existence, despite the general silence of the records on this matter, reminds us that much is left unknown about life in Constantinople.

In 1995, Peter Lock published a survey of the Frankish states in the Aegean. The book encompasses all the Western establishments, which he groups into six entities: the Latin empire, the kingdom of Thessaloniki, the lordship of Athens and Thebes, the duchy of the Archipelago, the triarchies of Negropont, and the principality of Morea, or Achaia. He provides a relatively brief account of the history of each of these, in addition to the Venetian and Genoese communities, and a sweeping but detail-filled discussion of lordship and governance, religious institutions and practices, the economy, and culture. It is in this final area, which appears in the chapter "Symbiosis and Segregation," that my assessment differs most from Lock's. Here, as elsewhere, he often relies on evidence from the principality of Morea, and from the fourteenth century, to speak broadly about the culture created in the Frankish states. It is an interesting approach, but, in my opinion, leads to some distortions of the situation in the Latin Empire. More particularly, Lock's central question about the culture of the Frankish communities is whether a hybrid Franco-Greek culture developed. He concludes that one did not. This approach, however, does not leave room for an in-depth consideration of the culture that did develop, one that was neither fully Western nor wholly Byzantine. Lock acknowledged that "Frankish Greece was a frontier society throughout its existence."[32] Lock's consideration of the frontier aspect of the Frankish

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[31] Jacoby, "The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin Rule 1204-1261," pp 66, 67-72.
[32] Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1995), p. 281.

states, however, resulted in a focus on how the conquerors gained and maintained their power and how they segregated themselves from local populations in order to do so. The present study suggests an alternative.

Recently, the eight-hundredth anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople prompted a number of colloquia, conferences, and seminars, many of which have generated article collections. Although the Latin Empire appears in some of these, it is far from the main focus.[33] This dichotomy—the great interest in the crusade, but the lack of interest in the state created by it—is an extension of the prejudices of centuries, beginning, indeed, with contemporary narratives.[34]

The past decade or so has seen a significant increase in interest in the principality of the Morea, encouraged by archaeology underway in the Peloponnese. The Dumbarton Oaks Symposium in 2009 focused on "Morea: The Land and Its People in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade" and featured talks that relied heavily on archaeological findings. Clare Teresa Shawcross's recent book *The Chronicle of Morea* provides a rigorous analysis of the four versions that have survived (French, Greek, Catalan, and Italian) and brings the texts into conversation with the circumstances of their production and of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century developments in the Morea and elsewhere.[35] This meeting of text and context sheds light on both and permits her to put forward a number of new suggestions and conclusions. Shawcross's portrait of

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[33] See the articles of David Jacoby: "The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: a State within a State," in *Quarta crociata: Venezia, Bisanzio, impero latino*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, and Peter Schreiner (Venezia: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 2006), 19-80; "The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin Rule 1204-1261".
[34] For an explicit statement of this, see Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow: Pearson/Longman, 2003), p. 125.
[35] Clare Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). My own work has also greatly benefited from conversations with Shawcross in the Hellenic Studies Program at Princeton University and beyond.

the emergence of a group identity among the Franks, one that included accommodations with the conquered peoples in Morea and opposition to newly arrived Westerners in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, has also been very influential in my own work.[36] But, again, interest in the Morea has not yet been matched by a corresponding interest in the Latin Empire.

The Beginning

The Fourth Crusade is a necessary backdrop for the history of the Latin Empire and the Franks in Constantinople. It explains, after all, how they got there and, perhaps more important, who they were. I will not recount the well-known details of how the Fourth Crusade unfolded from Innocent III's original call until the attack on Constantinople in the spring of 1204. Others have already done so.[37] Neither will I engage with the disputes that continue to swirl around the apportioning of blame for the Fourth Crusade's diversion to Constantinople. Whether it was a series of accidents, or a Venetian plot, or even a long-awaited Montferrat revenge is only of incidental interest to the questions undertaken here. A brief summary, however, places the inception of the Latin Empire in context.

In the winter of 1199–1200, at a tournament in northern France, a series of nobles took the cross, including Thibaut III de Champagne, Louis de Blois, and Baudouin IX of Flanders. The crusaders' agents approached Venice to arrange for transportation, and, in the spring of 1201, an agreement was achieved. After the death

[36] See, for example, Ibid., pp 203-49.
[37] Most important Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). Others have also written full-length histories: W. B Bartlett, *An Ungodly War: The Sack of Constantinople & the Fourth Crusade* (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 2000); John Godfrey, *1204, the Unholy Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004). More recently, Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*.

of Thibaut III de Champagne, Bonifacio del Monferrato replaced him as the crusaders' paramount secular leader. The composition of the Fourth Crusade mirrored its leadership—primarily northern French and Flemish barons, with a significant showing of northern Italians and, of course, the Venetians with their ships.

The crusade, however, did not command the level of participation that its organizers had envisioned. As a result, they were unable to meet their financial obligations to Venice, which had built ships for a much larger force. After a lengthy delay, the crusade's leaders agreed to accompany the Venetians to Zara, where the combined forces captured the port, restoring it to Venetian control. In the meantime, the crusaders were approached by Alexios Angelos (the soon-to-be Alexios IV) who, with the backing of his brother-in-law Philip of Swabia, convinced them to accompany him to Constantinople. There, he promised, the people would welcome him as the rightful heir, and he would provide them with funds to continue their expedition. Once Alexios IV was installed in August 1203 his relationship with the crusaders disintegrated, and they did not receive the funds they had been promised.

In March 1204, a month after the overthrow of Alexios IV, Bonifacio del Monferrato, Baudouin IX of Flanders, Hugues de Saint-Pol, and Louis de Blois concluded a new agreement with the doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo. In addition to designating how future spoils would be divided, the agreement established arrangements for the election of a new emperor, if the crusaders succeeded in conquering Constantinople.[38] Up until this moment, arguments can (and have) been made that the crusaders did not plan to seize the empire. Here, however, we have an explicit statement of the intention to conquer Byzantium and install a Latin emperor. A

[38] Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp 175-76.

month later, the treaty was realized with the conquest of the city and the election of Baudouin IX of Flanders as emperor. The events of March and April 1204 were a long way from the commitment of the crusaders and Venetians, made at Zara and confirmed at Corfu, to restore Alexios IV to the imperial throne.[39]

The election of Baudouin IX, count of Flanders and vassal of both the French king and the Holy Roman Emperor, as Baudouin I, emperor of Constantinople, signaled the triumph of the French and Flemish factions over the Italian supporters of Bonifacio del Monferrato. Various considerations drove Baudouin I's selection: the preferences of the doge and his representatives; the composition of the crusading army, particularly its strong Flemish component; and the expected arrival of his wife, Marie. As a one-time Genoese ally, moreover, his rival Bonifacio del Monferrato was unacceptable to the Venetian party.[40] Under the Komneni, the Venetians had experienced the turmoil when their trading privileges were revoked and their community attacked and they wanted to confirm their position with a reliable ally as emperor. The Flemish crusaders had been surprisingly loyal to Baudouin I, following him to Constantinople while many others left their leaders to go to the Levant.[41] The history of the crusader states had revealed how difficult it could be to convince Westerners to settle permanently in the East. As a candidate for emperor, Baudouin I could boast loyal followers who might stay and provide a core of settlers for the new empire. His two brothers, Henri and Eustache, were also with the crusading army at Constantinople. The expected arrival of his wife completed the picture: with followers, brothers, and a wife Baudouin I could easily root himself in the East.

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[39] Ibid., pp 81-99.
[40] Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, p. 230.
[41] Ibid., pp 7, 137.

His elevation established a Flemish-French dominance in Constantinople, a dominance of barons as well as of emperors. Other groups, of course, were intimately involved in the affairs of the Latin Empire. The northern Italian adherents of Bonifacio del Monferrato and the Venetians were prominent in the events of 1204, but their communities developed along different paths, although these often intersected with that of the Flemish and French barons and emperors. Boniface had sought the imperial crown and, after losing it, fought for and received the kingdom of Thessaloniki instead. His followers, along with some French nobles, accompanied him to his new land.[42] The history of the Lombards in Thessaloniki diverged from that of the Flemish and French barons in several important ways. First, the Lombard barons in Thessaloniki were often at odds with the emperors, particularly over inheritance of the kingdom. In addition, the Western occupation of Thessaloniki was short-lived: The city fell to the Greeks in 1224, although the title continued to be granted and claimed into the fourteenth century.[43] Perhaps most relevantly, the bonds of vassalage, politics, and kinship that tied the imperial barons to the French king and to each other did not include the northern Italians. As a result, although the settlers in Thessaloniki serve as an interesting contrast to those in Constantinople, theirs is a different story.

The other major party—the Venetians—held a position in the empire that David Jacoby has characterized as a "combination of subordination and parity."[44] From the beginning, instead of angling for the imperial throne, the doge preferred to control the

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[42] Ibid., p. 231. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres", 1938), p. 86, ch 279. Translation in Geoffrey of Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," in *Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 101.
[43] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, p. 320. Longnon, "La reprise de Salonique par les Grecs en 1224".
[44] Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesos after the Fourth Crusade," p. 147.

patriarchate. The pact of March 1204 made provisions for the future of the empire, should it be captured. At almost every turn, the details of this pact reveal and reaffirm the distinction between the Venetians and the other crusaders. The council that elected the emperor consisted of half Venetians and half non-Venetians and the offices of patriarch and emperor were to go to a Venetian and a non-Venetian. The empire itself was to be divided among the emperor, the Venetians, and non-Venetian crusaders.[45] The distinction was maintained after the city had been conquered and Western rule established. The Venetians took on a constitutional role in the Latin Empire as members of the imperial council, one that affirmed the integrity of their community and its status as separate from that of the emperor and barons.[46] Within the empire, representatives of the Venetian state, the podestà and his council, not the emperor, governed its citizens.[47] Preservation of a separate community was a priority: In 1205, the podestà decreed that Venetian-held land could only be alienated to other Venetians, not to foreigners.[48] Throughout the Western occupation of Constantinople, agreements between the Venetians and the emperors continued to use language and make provisions that demonstrate the continued distinction between the two communities.[49] The divide was sharp enough for Jacoby to conclude that "the Venetian portion of the Latin empire

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[45] Gottlieb Lukas Friedrich Tafel and Georg Martin Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Vienna: Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1856), vol I, p. 444.
[46] Ibid., vol I, no. CLX, pp 571-74.
[47] For a discussion of the podestà's status and his subordinate position to Venice see Wolff, "A New Document from the Period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Oath of the Venetian Podestà".
[48] David Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 43 (1993): 155-57. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, vol I, p. 559.
[49] See, for example, the confirmations of the partitions of the empire by the regent Conon de Béthune, and the emperors Robert de Courtenay and Jean de Brienne Ibid., I: 214-15, 227-30, 277-88, nos. CLVI, CCLV, CCLXXVII.

was thus a true state within a state."[50] The division between the Venetians and other elements in the Latin Empire, along with the particular status of Venetian overseas communities, renders their story related to but different from the one told here.[51]

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In 1974, Hendrickx published an article, "The Main Problems of the History of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)." In it, he noted a peculiarity about the position of Western lords in the East:

> [M]ost of the nobles, who stayed in the Latin Empire of Constantinople after the fourth Crusade, found themselves in a double, often triple feudal dependence: first they depended on the original lord in their country of provenance, secondly—at least theoretically—on the new Latin emperor of Constantinople, and thirdly, often as a result of circumstances, land-divisions or free engagement, on one of the important feudal lords of the new Empire.[52]

With this insight, Hendrickx brushed on the strange condition of the Westerners abroad: their relocation did not dissolve their original relationships—whether kin- or marriage-based, feudal, or political. However, in their new home they developed new bonds—feudal and political ties, to be sure, but also new kin relations established through marriages. It is the overlap, with all the associated conflicts and collaborations, between the original ties and the new ones that concerns me here.

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[50] Jacoby, "The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: a State within a State".

[51] For studies of Venetians in Constantinople see the work of David Jacoby, including "Venetian Settlers in Latin Constantinople (1204–1261): Rich or Poor?," in *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*, Variorum (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 181-204; "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)"; *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine*; "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, Mediterranean Historical Review (London, 1989); "The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: a State within a State". For a study of another Venetian colony, see McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*.

[52] Benjamin Hendrickx, "The Main Problems of the History of the Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 4 (1974): 792-93.

In studying this overlap, I reexamine some central assertions commonly accepted by historians, in particular about the Franks' level of adaptation in response to their local cultures. Although historians have typically disparaged the emperors except Henri, I argue that, with the partial exceptions of Robert de Courtenay and Jean de Brienne, the emperors sought to make the most of their advantages and, most important, to integrate into local networks as much as possible without losing their affiliation with the West. When the emperors failed to do so, the Frankish barons of Constantinople stepped in. The affiliation with the West, although it was insufficient to ensure the preservation of the Latin Empire, repeatedly demonstrated its potential to raise aid, even if that potential was never fully realized. In preserving that relationship, the emperors were pursuing the best strategy available to them.

The rhetoric preserved in communications with the West shows that the Franks recognized the requirements of a Western identity and were able to articulate and claim these characteristics. Reading just below the surface, however, and looking to their actions as well as their statements I uncover their ability to transcend Western prejudices and restrictions on behavior in order to participate in the local environment. The Franks and their supporters, especially the papacy, developed a schema that highlighted the importance of Western control over Constantinople—or, rather, schemata, since the strategies changed over time. These public presentations, however, did not always reflect the actual attitudes or policies of the Franks.

This degree of involvement with the West set the Latin Empire apart from other frontier societies in the Middle Ages. This relationship was governed by a cluster of factors, including kinship, land ownership and lordship, the historical status of

Constantinople, the crusading movement, and the commitment to the Holy Land. The interaction among these sheds light not only on the Latin Empire but also on the Western actors.

The story of the Latin Empire weaves through dramatic developments in thirteenth-century Europe: the Fourth Crusade and other thirteenth-century, crusading enterprises; the fate of Jerusalem; Franco-Flemish conflict; the consolidation of Capetian power; the piety and actions of Louis IX; the worsening clashes between the Hohenstaufen rulers and the papacy; the arrival of the Mongols; the imperial hopes of Alfonso X of Castile; and the ambition and success of Charles d'Anjou. Franks in search of aid interacted at length with the Capetians and the papacy but also spent time and corresponded with influential individuals in Flanders, England, Germany, Castile, and Aragon. With two major exceptions—Blanche of Castile and Gregory IX—Western clerical and lay elites cared primarily about how the Latin emperor and the prestige, titles, privileges, and rights he carried could be employed in furtherance of their own priorities, or how he interfered with their goals. The Latin Empire may not have mattered to most Western Europeans for its own sake. Yet, it clearly held a role in the imagination of Western society, if only to be used as a pawn. Through a series of discrete episodes, this dissertation looks at Western views of Constantinople and the Latin Empire.

In addition to its involvement in Western developments, the Latin Empire's existence transformed the history of the Byzantine Empire. It exposed and exacerbated the centrifugal forces at work in the Byzantine Empire, since Constantinople, even

before 1204, was losing control over the provinces.[53] The conquest and the new intimacy between Franks and Greeks drove, in the end, a deeper wedge between Western Christendom and Byzantium.[54] In this sense, the frontier created by the Latin Empire had an impact far beyond the immediate transformations in the Frankish community in Constantinople. Classic accounts of the Byzantine world during and after the period of Frankish rule focus on internal developments or relations between various exiled Greek states.[55] Michael Angold's recent book on the Fourth Crusade and its aftermath shows a new interest in the Frankish establishment, although the connection to the Byzantine world is still underdeveloped. On the other hand, Gill Page's study of Byzantine Roman ethnic identity argued that "the phenomenon of Frankish conquest and rule was the single most critical impetus for developments in the sense of ethnic identity." Specifically, "the conquests by the Franks in fact effected a significant shift in the relationship between the Byzantine Romans and their western neighbours that was more about rapprochement than any ethnically conditioned hostility."[56] Looking from the other side of the divide, very similar conclusions will be drawn in this dissertation about Frankish communal identity and the balance between rapprochement and hostility—and how the balance changed over time.

[53] See Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*.
[54] The major work on the relationship between Byzantium and Rome continues to be Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz: Die Trennung der beiden Mächte und das Problem ihrer Wiedervereinigung bis zum Untergange des Byzantinischen Reichs (1453)* (Berlin: B. Behr, 1903).
[55] Michael Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957).
[56] Page, *Being Byzantine*, p. 6.

Chapter 1:

Foundation of the Latin Empire, 1204–1205

The Fourth Crusaders who settled in Byzantine territories entered a new world, one filled with unfamiliar actors, cultures, and religions, and, in response, they and their descendants were alternatively flexible and intransigent. They compromised, easily it seems, on some issues, adapting to their new surroundings and neighbors, but retained a Western outlook that impeded full participation in their environment. In exploring this community, my dissertation centers around several connected questions: How did the Westerners who settled in the Latin Empire and their descendants modify their attitudes and practices in response to their new environment? To what extent did they retain their Western allegiances and loyalties and how were these transformed? Through these questions I seek to understand the changing communal identity of the Franks in Constantinople. In these two chapters, I consider the first Western emperors in Constantinople, two brothers, Baudouin I, count of Flanders and Hainaut, and Henri of Hainaut. They governed Constantinople, respectively, from 1204 to 1205 and from 1205 to 1216. When taken together, their imperial tenures show a remarkable change over a relatively brief period of time. Whereas Baudouin I remained aloof from the local alliance networks, Henri willingly participated, even arranging marriages with Bulgarians, Greeks, and Hungarians. He retained Western sentiments and prejudices, but these did not prevent his integration into local structures.

As a study of the Latin Empire, this story properly begins with the election and coronation of Baudouin I as emperor of Constantinople. He did not long enjoy the

imperial crown: elected on May 9, 1204, he was captured by Kalojan, the Bulgarian tsar, in mid-April of 1205 and died in custody sometime before July 1206. His brief reign provides insufficient evidence to judge his *capacity* for adaptation. The most that can be said is that, despite his acquisition of new territory and title, in the year he spent as emperor he displayed an unredeemed Western attitude. He maintained his connections and acted in accordance with his history, with little accommodation for his new surroundings. This mind-set can be seen both in his communications with the West and his relations with his new neighbors and colleagues, now subjects. Baudouin I was crowned emperor in May 1204, but the Frankish outlook and approach that characterized the actions of his nephew, Baudouin II, would take time to develop.

Baudouin I's actions provide a baseline from which to evaluate later emperors and barons. An examination of his reign sets the stage, in a sense, for the more nuanced discussions to come. It introduces the major players—the papacy, the Capetian monarchy, Flanders, France, Bulgaria, Nicaea, and Epiros—and the important themes—the hope for Western aid, the need for support, the threat from the Latin Empire's neighbors, and the rise of Greek powers in exile.

Baudouin I and the West

Baudouin I's reign began, several weeks after his coronation, with a round of correspondence to the West. Three letters were addressed, respectively, to Innocent III, the abbot of Cîteaux and other Cistercian abbots, and the archbishop of Cologne, while one was directed to "all the Christian faithful."[57] None of the surviving letters were

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[57] See Robert d'Auxerre, "Chronicon," in *MGH*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1882), 267 and W. Prevenier, ed., *De Oorkonden der Graven can Vlaanderen (1191-aanvang 1206)*, Recueil des actes des princes belges (Bruxelles: Académie royale de Belgique, 1964), no. 271, pp 567-95. The archbishop of

directed specifically to secular rulers, although the distribution was wide and the letters would have made their way to European courts.[58] These letters explained the events leading up to the conquest of the great city and announced the election of Baudouin I as emperor. Innocent III was the most important of the correspondents. His invocation and support of the Fourth Crusade had transformed into disapproval and then excommunication as the crusaders diverted from their original trajectory to Zara and, finally, Constantinople. Securing papal support, which Baudouin I's letter successfully did, was essential to the Latin Empire's identity as a crusader state and its attempts to muster and maintain Western support.

Baudouin I wrote to Innocent III at least six times during his year-long reign.[59] Following his initial report, he asked the pope to confirm the March Pact between the crusaders and the Venetians, which divided Byzantine territory and established the basis for government. He requested Innocent III's cooperation in a Western grant, and, shortly before his capture, he sent a summary of the military situation. Two other letters extended invitations—one for members of religious orders and Parisian masters and students and one for papal envoys.

Baudouin I was not alone in recognizing the papacy's importance to the Franks. Surviving correspondence from the Latin Empire includes a large percentage of letters to popes. Many of these were in the same vein as Baudouin I's: containing information about events in and around Constantinople with the goal of encouraging the pope to send financial support and to advocate for the Latin Empire's interests with Western

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Cologone may have been selected because he was a relative of Baudouin's: "consanguineo suo" Ibid., p. 578.

[58] See the version preserved in Robert d'Auxerre's chronicle: Robert d'Auxerre, "Chronicon," pp 266-70

[59] Hendrickx identified six separate communications. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, no. 3, 22, 24, 36, 39, 40, pp 13, 26, 27, 33-34, 36-37.

rulers.[60] Others addressed ecclesiastical matters—appointment of clerics, collection of monies, patriarchal elections, and treatment of the Greek clergy and laity.[61] The patterns of document preservation explain, in part, the skewed balance of correspondence toward the papacy. The relative sophistication of the papal bureaucracy meant that correspondence to and from popes was more likely to survive to the modern period than other documents. I will argue, however, that for the first twenty and probably even thirty years of the Latin Empire the surviving correspondence accurately reflects the greater closeness of the Latin Empire to the pope than to Western secular rulers. In particular, for Baudouin I and Henri connections to their previous overlords and other powerful secular men in the West were centered on their abandoned Western lands rather than their new Eastern concerns.

Baudouin I's nonpapal correspondence to the West generally related to his position as count of Flanders and Hainaut. The count left on crusade planning to return home.[62] His promotion to emperor had given him another territory to worry about, but it had not severed his connection to Flanders. In the most obvious demonstration of this dual identity, he referred to himself in his letters as both count of Flanders and emperor of Constantinople.[63] Upon his departure for the crusade, Baudouin I had appointed

[60] See a letter in 1206 from Henri requesting aid and in 1210 demonstrating Innocent's knowledge of the alliance between Henri and Michael of Epiros. Ibid., p. 45, no. 52. J.P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series latina* (Paris, 1844), 216: col 353-54, no. CLXXXIV For other communications see Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 64-66, no. 82-85.
[61] See for example a letter from Innocent to the patriarch of Constantinople concerning ecclesiastical property and in 1209 revealing that Henri had asked that a certain cleric be named a canon of St Sophia. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 109-10, no. CCX.
[62] Numerous examples show that Baudouin I's plan was to return home. In July 1204, Philippe, marquis of Namur, stated that he had custody of Baudouin I's land while his brother was abroad. Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, p. 607, no. 276: "eo tempore quo illustris comes Flandrie et Hainonie Balduinus in partibus transmarinis peregrinabatur, cuius terram ego Ph[ilippus], frater eiusdem, tunc temporis custodiebam."
[63] C. Duvivier, *Les influences françaises et germaniques en Belgique au XIIIe siècle. La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre jusqu'à la mort de Jean d'Avesnes (1257)* (Bruxelles, 1894), vol II, pp 189-

baillis to govern his land, and he continued to write to these men after his coronation and to refer to them as *baillis*, thus reinscribing their temporary status.[64] Although he had relinquished day-to-day operations, he showed no signs of permanently alienating his Western lands. The count-emperor wrote to Philip Augustus, Innocent III, and various individuals in Flanders concerning routine matters, such as the property and donations of his clerk and companion on the crusade, Gautier de Courtrai, and the creation of a chapter at the church in Courtrai.[65]

Baudouin I's continued engagement with his land allowed him, on at least two separate occasions, to turn his Western land and connections in Flanders to the advantage of the Latin Empire. He instructed the count of Namur and the *baillis* of Flanders to use his Flemish income to pay subsidies to knights willing to come to the aid of the Latin Empire.[66] This is the first but far from the last example of a Latin emperor employing his Western lands to finance the enterprise in Constantinople.[67] It signaled Baudouin I's commitment to the Latin Empire, but also telegraphed his continued involvement in Flanders and his confidence that he could control its resources. He also wrote to several bishops asking them to encourage men to come and

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90, no. 2: "B., Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo imperator a Deo coronatus Romanorum, moderator et semper augustus, Flandrie et Hainoie comes" (June of 1204).

[64] For two letters referencing his *baillis*, one written to the *baillis* themselves and the other to the French king, see: Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, p. 617, no. 282: "ballivus suis de Flandria" and Ibid., p. 625, no. 286: "mandavimus itaque baillivis nostris de Flandra."

[65] Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 27-31, no. 24-31. Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, pp 628-29, no. 288. For a summary of Gautier de Courtrai's career see Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, p. 191. Several charters reveal Baudouin IX acting in Courtrai before the Fourth Crusade. C. Duvivier, *Chartes inédites concernant les comtes de Hainaut (887–1207)* (Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1903), pp 320-21, 321-34, no. 168, 171. Charles Liévin Mussely, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Courtrai* (Courtrai, 1854), pp 76-77, no. 2.

[66] Migne, *PL*, 215: col. 1035-36, no. 298.

[67] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, p. 179: "As far as is known the Latin emperors were the only rulers of the Aegean to exploit home resources to bolster their position in the Aegean in the thirteenth century, that is after the initial expenses of going on crusade had been met." See extensive discussion of Baudouin II's activities in the west in chapters 5 and 6 below.

join him, although in this letter he was careful to portray the enterprise in Constantinople as the first step in a project to retake the Holy Land.[68] He did not take for granted that they would be willing to commit aid to the Latin Empire itself, but instead linked it to the larger and more legitimate crusading project.

This connection between the capture of Constantinople and the eventual recovery of Jerusalem was a feature of the early years of the Latin Empire. The Byzantines had long been seen as hindering the cause of the crusader states in the Holy Land. Upon hearing of the conquest of the city, Innocent III described the event as part of a divine plan that would lead to the freedom of the Holy Land and the unity of all Christians under the papacy.[69] By the summer of 1205, however, not even a year after his first ecstatic letters, Innocent III was disillusioned with the capture of Constantinople.[70] In a stern letter to the papal legate Peter Capuano, he noted that the legate's departure from the Holy Land to proceed to Constantinople had resulted in the absence of leadership in a time of crisis. Innocent III's charges to the legate could also apply to the crusaders: "[W]e undertook to dispatch you not to capture the empire of Constantinople but for the defense of the remnants of the Holy Land and for the restoration of what has been lost."[71] No longer was the capture of Constantinople a blessing for the Holy Land; now it was an obstacle. This question of the relationship of the Latin Empire to the Holy Land was one that dogged the Franks throughout the thirteenth century. It quickly became clear that the Latin Empire needed support and

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[68] Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, p. 632, no. 290.
[69] See the translations and commentary gathered in Alfred J. Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, The Medieval Mediterranean, v. 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp 113-26, 131-30.
[70] See Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp 113-15.
[71] Translation from Andrea, *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, p. 165. Migne, *PL*, 215: 700: "Debueratis ergo causam vestrae legationis attendere, ac sollicite cogitare, quod non ad capiendum Constantinopolitanum imperium, sed defendendas reliquias terrae sanctae, ac perdita."

would not be able to participate in any drive to retake Jerusalem or provide protection for the crusader states.

Although the Franks' closeness with the papacy is evident from the very beginning, their eventual intimacy with the Capetians is not reflected in the early record. Starting in the 1220s, the Franks and their erstwhile allies, the popes, appealed to the French monarchy for financial support and guidance, appeals that were met, at least sometimes, with a positive response. Baudouin I also wrote to his king and lord from Constantinople. These letters addressed feudal matters, however, particularly the transfer of property for which Philip Augustus was overlord.[72] They did not address the concerns or needs of the Latin Empire. Of course, there were many European rulers who did not merit Baudouin I's individualized attention. But, in 1204, both past and future developments suggested the logic of a close relationship with the French king. That it did not develop merits some explanation.

In Philip Augustus, Baudouin I and, later, Henri were faced with a ruler whose lineage ought to have predisposed him to provide help to the newest crusader state, but whose personal history suggested that he would be uninterested. On the one hand, the Capetians had a long and storied involvement in crusading and crusader states, and Baudouin I had an additional basis for appeal as the king's vassal. On the other hand, Philip Augustus had, after the frustrations of the Third Crusade, displayed little interest in crusading. The lord-vassal relationship was complex as well. Baudouin I, as count of Flanders, had fought against Capetian authority, a struggle that continued in Europe

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[72] Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, pp 616,25, no. 281, 86.: "modis omnibus affectuose rogamus ut sepedictum Walterum ... feodum illud in pace et transquilitate possidere faciatis" and "quod serenitati vestre preces porrigimus affectuosas ... ut si forte aliqui contra hoc mandatum nostrum ire voluerint, voluntas predicti Walteri, quantum in hoc, et concessio nostra per manum et potestatem vestram mancipetur effectui."

while the count-emperor was busy establishing a new state in the East. Philip Augustus, then, was both a natural ally and a natural enemy for Baudouin I and his brother Henri.

Jonathan Philips fleshed out the relationship between France and the Holy Land, long acknowledged as a special one, in his work on Western aid to the crusader settlers.[73] In the twelfth century, the king, nobles, and clerics of Jerusalem made the French kings primary targets in their search for help against the threat of Muslim neighbors and, eventually, Mongol invaders. Examples abound. Louis VI's approval was sought for Fulk of Anjou's marriage to Melisende, heiress to the kingdom of Jerusalem.[74] In the 1160s alone, Louis VII received separate (although often related) pieces of correspondence from the king of Jerusalem, the master of the Templars, the preceptor of the Templars, the prince of Antioch, the patriarch of Antioch, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the assembly of nobles and clerics. The requests made to the French king contrast with the dearth of appeals individually targeted at other rulers, although the king of England and the German emperor were often approached during general missions sent to the West.[75] These efforts had mixed success: The approach to Louis VII in 1145 prompted the Second Crusade, but others, such as the series of letters in the 1160s, garnered little aid.

This close, but often fruitless, relationship between Jerusalem and France continued into the reign of Philip Augustus, king of France for the first two decades of the Latin Empire's existence. The Franks in the Levant and their supporters persisted in

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[73] Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford: Clarendon Publishers, 1996).
[74] Ibid., p. 24.
[75] More general appeals that included these other rulers happened in 1169, 1171, and 1184. For a history of appeals to the West in the twelfth century, see Ibid., throughout, esp. pp 7, 77-78, 106-11, 141-49, 177-86.

placing hope in the French connection, despite the lack of direct results. The pope appealed directly to Philip Augustus and Henry II in 1181. In 1185, envoys from the crusader kingdom came to the West in order, as Phillips argued, "to convince a western monarch to accept these symbols [the keys of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre] and to travel to the east."[76] Despite the kin relationship between Henry II of England and the king of Jerusalem, they first offered the keys to Philip Augustus, who refused to accept them.[77] Philip Augustus, along with the English king and many great French barons, was only moved to go on crusade after the fall of Jerusalem in 1187.

Philip Augustus's reluctance to aid the crusader states in the early 1180s grew stronger after the Third Crusade. Disappointed by his reception in the East and jealous of Richard the Lionheart, the French king never again supported crusading with any enthusiasm, despite prominent French participation in the Fourth Crusade and the Albigensian Crusade. Even Innocent III's pleas that Philip Augustus intervene in the struggle in southern France did not produce substantial results. The king's conflicts with England and Flanders always took precedence over crusading projects, whether near or far.[78]

If the Capetian legacy of involvement with crusades and the crusading states was mixed, the relationship between the French kings and the counts of Flanders was even more problematic. Baudouin I was the vassal of the French kings for Flanders and of the German emperors for Hainaut. When he inherited his territory in 1194, he also

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[76] Ibid., p. 257.
[77] Ibid., pp 246-48, 257.
[78] John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp 207-9, 336-59.

acquired a conflict with the French king centered around Flemish independence.[79] There were only brief respites in the fighting through the 1180s and 1190s. By 1197, according to Gabrielle Spiegel's evaluation, "practically the entire Flemish aristocracy, led by Baudouin, was in open rebellion against Philip Augustus."[80] A truce established in 1200 lasted long enough for the count to leave on crusade, but there is little reason to believe that either the truce or Baudouin I's subsequent departure repaired his personal relationship with the king. Baudouin I and his two brothers Henri and Eustache remained in the East, but the conflict in Flanders continued, and only the decisive victory of Philip Augustus at Bouvines in 1214 put an end to the rebellious actions (if not desires) of the Flemish barons. It is not a surprise, then, that, despite the prominence of French and Flemish barons in the Latin Empire and the history of French interest in the crusader states, correspondence between the emperors in Constantinople and the Capetians is rare during the period of the Flemish emperors (1204–1216). This division would be ameliorated with the succession of the Courtenays, close kin and loyal vassals of the Capetians, to the throne in Constantinople.

Despite their previous difficulties, Baudouin I and Philip Augustus maintained cordial relations after Baudouin I left for the crusade. In announcing the establishment of a chapter at Courtrai, mentioned above, Baudouin I expressed a concern that his *baillis* would be slow to carry out his instructions and requested the king's support in ensuring that they acted in accordance with his orders. Their relationship was good enough that he expected the king to exert himself to accomplish the enclosed request.

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[79] For a summary of events see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: the Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), pp 23-53.
[80] Ibid., p. 39.

Not all of Baudouin I's correspondence with Philip Augustus dealt with Flemish concerns. The count-emperor sent relics from the castle of Boucoléon to the king, including those "*de ligno Crucis dominice* longitudine unius pedis aut amplius; *de capillis Domini*; *una de Spinis Spinee Corone* quam capiti eius plebs perfida Iudeorum imposuit; *de veste* in qua nutritus fuit; *de purpura* in qua ante Pilatum a militibus ipsius fuit illusus tempore Passionis; *una de costis beati Philippi apostoli*, & *unus dens eiusdem.*"[81] Relics were chief among the treasures of Constantinople desired by Westerners and, in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, many relics made their way to the West through official and unofficial channels.[82] In particular, relics of the Passion were widely sought after and, luckily for the Latin emperors, were present in Constantinople. Baudouin I's gift to Philip Augustus was unusual, however. Few official shipments of relics were made during Baudouin I's reign and, as far as the record shows, only two were made by the count-emperor himself.[83] Even Philippe de Namur, Baudouin and Henri's brother, had to wait until Henri's regency to receive relics from one of his brothers.[84] In addition to the shipment to Philip Augustus, Baudouin I sent relics, although stolen by Genoese corsairs, to Innocent III to accompany the letter reporting the fall of Constantinople. Eager for papal approval, the

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[81] Comte Paul Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris: CTHS, 1878), II: 64-65, no XIV.
[82] See the indispensable collection of sources concerning Byzantine relics and the Fourth Crusade in Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*. Riant's introduction is a useful summary on the translation of relics. See also Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp 194-95.
[83] Riant published records of donations from individuals other than Baudouin I. Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 58-62, no. IV-IX.
[84] Charles-François-Joseph Galliot, *Histoire générale ecclésiastique et civile de la ville et province de Namur* (Bruxelles, 1788), V: 358. Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 74. Henri also gave relics to clerics. Ibid., II: 78, 81, 82-83, 99-100.

count-emperor sent proof of the benefits of the conquest.[85] The pope, as an influential and important ally of the Latin Empire, was an obvious choice for such an honor and prestigious company for Philip Augustus. Philip Augustus's inclusion as a recipient suggests, as the other evidence does not, that Baudouin recognized the importance of a good relationship with the Capetian king and was taking the first steps to encourage it. Yet, there is no evidence of a direct request for assistance or of royal aid in response to this shipment. Baudouin I was aware of the Latin Empire's need for material support, since he sought it from his own lands, but he was either reluctant to ask Philip Augustus for help or did not believe the king would respond positively. It is tempting to see this shipment as a sign of Baudouin I's mellowing toward Philip Augustus and his hope for the king's help. Unfortunately, the count-emperor's death soon after leaves this as conjecture.

Baudouin I's continued identification with Flanders, already seen in his self-titling and his correspondence involving his Western territory, is also evident in witness lists to his charters. In February 1205, the emperor distinguished between the men of Flanders—Guillaume, advocate of Béthune, Roger de Courtrai, Eustache de Salperwick, Lambert de Moregem, Eustache de Gentbrugge, Simon Crakelin, Raoul and Gautier de Passchendale, Lambert de Poelvoorde, Gilbert d'Ypres, and Robert de Wavrin—and the men of Romania, i.e. the Latin Empire[86]—Conon de Béthune, master Amaury of Arras, Geoffroy marshal of Champagne, Milo le Bréban, Manessier de

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[85] Genoese corsairs seized the relics en route to western Europe. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 13-14, no. 3. Migne, *PL*, 215: col. 433, no. CXLVII. Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 56-57. The messenger, a Templar himself, also carried relics for that order. The history of relic shipments from Constantinople suggests that messengers often had the discretion to give relics to their home churches or orders.

[86] For discussion of the term "Romania," see Wolff, "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople".

l'Isle, and Macaire de Sainte-Menehould.[87] Both categories corresponded to areas under Baudouin I's authority. All the men were his allies, but the distinction is carefully drawn and shows his continued affiliation with men from Flanders specifically, even as he expanded his land holdings to include Romania.

These witness lists also suggest the possibility of a nascent identity among those men who chose to stay in Constantinople. The division was not guided by origin alone, but by commitment to the Latin Empire. As might be expected, all the "men of Flanders" were Flemish.[88] But of the "men of Romania," four were from Champagne and the other two from Flanders. These men, with the possible exception of Amaury, about whom little is known, had a higher profile in the Latin Empire than did the men of Flanders. The list suggests that they had, in February 1205, committed to remaining in the Latin Empire. The clearest evidence of this commitment comes from the behavior of the brothers Guillaume and Conon, who were placed in separate categories. Guillaume left with many others crusaders following the disaster at Adrianople, while Conon was one of the group begging them to stay. According to these documents, in

[87] This list is compiled from two separate documents one identifying "Willelmo, advocato Betunie, Rogero de Curtraco, Eustacio de Salperwic, Lamberto de Morenghem, Eustacio de Ghentbrugghe" and "Conone de Betunia, Giffrido, marescallo Campanie, Milone de Brabant, Manesero de Insula, Machario de Sent Mainihout." Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, p. 616, no 281. The second included among the men of Flanders "Simon Crakelin, Radulphus de Paskendale, Walterkinus de Paskendale, Lambertus de Polvorde, Gilbertus de Ypra, Robesote de Waurin" and among the men of Romania "Magister Amalricus, prepositus Atrebatensis." Ibid., p. 621, no. 283. For identifications see Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp 42, 45, 48, 145-46, 160, 191-92.

[88] To be from Flanders, of course, did not mean that the men were not also French. Clari perceived Baudouin I's supporters as French. Robert de Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris: Libraire ancienne Édouard Champion, 1924), p. 93, ch XCV: "Quant le parole fu oïe, si en furent tout li Franchois molt liés, et teus autres i eut qui en furent molt dolent, si comme chil qui devers le marchis se tenoien."

February, one brother had already committed to remain in the empire while the other had indicated his intention to return home.[89]

Yet, even these "men of Romania," soon to become Franks in the historiography, echoed European affiliations and showed their translation into this new environment. The non-Flemish men in the list came from Champagne, not St-Pol or royal lands, although many crusaders came from these areas.[90] Baudouin I's closeness with the Champenois knights is not surprising, since his wife, Marie, was the sister of Thibaut, the deceased count of Champagne. Thibaut had died before the Fourth Crusade departed but his widow claimed the loyalty of the Champenois crusaders. This marriage created a tie that Baudouin I maintained when he moved East and that made his relationship with the men from Champagne closer than that with men from other parts of the French kingdom. The "feudal" character of crusade participation and settlement, discussed by Jean Richard, was sustained in the early Latin Empire.[91] Baudouin I kept his men, or those connected to his wife, close to him. These witness lists, then, simultaneously show the emergence of a new affiliation along with the strength of old associations.

Baudouin I and His Neighbors

The count-emperor's actions in the East, particularly his treatment of his neighbors, confirm his conservatism and his continued Western sensibilities and attitudes. When they captured Constantinople, the crusaders entered into a complex

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[89] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 184-86, ch 376-77. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 125-26**.**

[90] According to Longnon's account of the Fourth Crusaders, the largest group by far was from Flanders (ninety knights). The second-largest group was from the royal domain, with Champagne a close third, and significant numbers from St Pol, Amiens, Burgundy, Lombardy and the Empire, Blois, Clermont, and Perche. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*.

[91] Jean Richard, "Les etats féodaux et les conséquences de la croisade," in *Etat et colonisation au Moyen Age et à la Renaissance*, ed. Michel Balard (Lyon: La Manufacture, 1989), 181-92.

system of diplomatic and cultural alliances. The new emperor proved reluctant, however, to adapt his practices to local circumstances. In the single year of his reign, Baudouin I was faced with a rebellion from Bonifacio del Monferrato, the continued resistance of Greeks to his rule, and the serious threat posed by Bulgaria under the rule of Kalojan. He was convinced to make peace with Bonifacio, a fellow Westerner and crusader, but he avoided alliances with local powers. This approach was evident before the capture of Constantinople when the barons refused an offered peace with Bulgaria, a costly move.[92] Instead of appeasing the Bulgarians, the crusaders antagonized them, "on any reckoning a bad miscalculation."[93] In reaction, Kalojan joined with Greeks in Adrianople to resist the Franks. It was in an ensuing battle that Baudouin I was captured.[94]

Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, a Western chronicler with an interest in events in the East, told an apocryphal story concerning Baudouin I's captivity: Kalojan's wife, a Cuman princess, approached the emperor, offering to release him if he would marry her and bring her back to Constantinople. Baudouin I refused her offer and, in retaliation, she told Kalojan that his captive had offered her marriage and the imperial crown if she helped him escape. Kalojan killed the count-emperor.[95] This story is suspect, since it is not attested by an author closer to the events. The themes, however, are familiar.

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[92] Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, pp 62-65. Translation in Robert de Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp 86-88. For Villehardouin's assessment of Kalojan's power and independence see Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, I: 206, ch 202. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 79. For secondary accounts see Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 62-66 and Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, 52-53.

[93] Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 132.

[94] Wolff summarized contemporary sources reporting Baudouin I's capture and death. Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225," pp 289-90.

[95] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," in *MGH SS*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst (Hanover, 1874), p. 885, ll 25-41.

Throughout the history of the Latin Empire, marriages with foreigners played an important role in diplomatic negotiations and solutions to conflicts. It is not difficult to imagine, although there is no evidence for it, that Baudouin I's release was contingent on a military alliance ensured by a marriage. His rejection is in character. He had already refused an alliance with Kalojan, and the crusaders were generally convinced of the Bulgarians' barbaric nature.[96] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines's story, centered on marriage to a foreigner, highlights one of the most significant areas of change in the settled Frankish community. Several decades later, marriages with Bulgarians and Cumans were an accepted part of diplomatic strategy for the Franks in Constantinople. Baudouin II was even willing to promote a marriage to a non-Christian. In these early years, however, Westerners felt cultural superiority over their neighbors, which made them reluctant to form alliances. Here is the "purity" that Angold discusses. Yet, although the sense of difference never disappeared for the Franks, the resistance to intermarriage faded. If Baudouin I had lived he, like his brother and many other settlers, might have adopted a new attitude. His conservatism serves as a measure of the settlers' state of mind upon their arrival and provides a baseline from which to evaluate change.

Aubri de Trois-Fontaines's story is a reminder that, entering into Constantinople, the Fourth Crusaders also entered a network of alliances and diplomatic practices, which prominently featured marriages. The previous twenty-five years had seen a great deal of turmoil in Constantinople and marriage to imperial women had come to the forefront as a method of creating and strengthening claims to the imperial throne. This method was also available to Baudouin I and Henri, yet they did not seek

[96] See pp 60-66 below for Henri's resistance to arranging marriages with Bulgarians.

legitimacy in marriage alliances. Baudouin I based his right to occupy the throne on the conquest of the city, made possible by divine support, and his subsequent election, conducted according to the procedures laid out in the agreement between the Venetians and the crusaders. His colleague, Bonifacio del Monferrato, who had lost the election, turned to marriage and the Byzantine tradition to assert his own claim to the imperial throne. Baudouin I and Henri, however, apparently secure in their own legitimacy, arranged marriages to solve conflicts and secure allies, not to bolster the ideological basis of their imperial rule. The Franks, from the beginning, saw themselves as outside the Byzantine tradition.

Marriages had featured prominently in the rebellions, usurpations, and assassinations that plagued Byzantium from the death of Manuel Komnenos in 1180. His son Alexios II was a minor, and a struggle for control over the government followed between the empress Maria of Antioch, Manuel's widow and Alexios's mother, and Maria *porphyrogenita,* Manuel's eldest surviving child from a previous marriage. Both women had men to support them: The widowed empress ruled with her lover, the *protosebastos* Alexios who was also Manuel's nephew. In turn, Maria *porphyrogenita* had the support of her husband, Ranieri del Monferrato, brother of the future Fourth Crusader Bonifacio del Monferrato.[97] In 1182, Andronikos Komnenos, Manuel's

[97] Upon their marriage, Renier had been given the new name "John," the title of *caesar*, and control over Thessaloniki. For the Byzantine practice of renaming foreign spouses see Ruth Macrides, "Dynastic Marriages and Political Kinship," in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers of the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992), pp 276-77.

cousin, returned to Constantinople, seized power, and murdered all four protagonists, along with young Alexios II.[98]

The early 1180s demonstrated that although imperial legitimacy was primarily lodged in the male heir, it was not solely so. Maria *porphyrogenita* claimed power for herself, despite the existence of her younger brother, also a legitimate child born in the purple.[99] Men seeking promotion claimed authority through imperial daughters and widows. Ranieri del Monferrato and Alexios *protosebastos* exercised power with an imperial lover or spouse and asserted legitimacy through these relationships.[100] Andronikos also took the opportunity presented by marriage. After murdering the child emperor, Alexios II, Andronikos married his young widow, Agnès. This marriage allowed Andronikos to reinforce his claim to the throne, one already established by his kin relationship to Manuel, his military success over his rivals, and the support of the populace. He ordered that paintings of imperial figures be replaced with those of him and his wife or him alone.[101] When he was overthrown in turn by Isaac II Angelos, Andronikos fled with Agnès.

Marriage featured prominently in another episode involving the Montferrats. In 1187, Corrado del Monferrato, Ranieri's and Bonifacio's brother, arrived in

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[98] Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: a Political History*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1997), pp 263-65. Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*, Modern Revivals in History (Aldershot, Hampshire: Gregg Revivals, 1992), pp 18-20, 31-37.

[99] Maria's claim may have stemmed from a sense of disappointment: Until Alexios's birth in 1169 she had been the only heir.

[100] Prior to Alexios's birth, Manuel had planned for his daughter Maria *porphyrogenita* to succeed him. He arranged her engagement to Béla of Hungary, who would share imperial power with his wife. Alexios's birth displaced Maria as heir and the engagement with Béla ended. Pál Engel and Andrew Ayton, *The Realm of St. Stephen: a History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, International library of historical studies (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), pp 52-53.

[101] Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp 332-33. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, p. 183. Agnès fled Constantinople with Andronikos after he was overthrown. Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp 346-37. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, p. 191.

Constantinople and married Isaac II Angelos's sister. He received the title of *caesar*, as his brother had, and became an imperial adviser. Corrado was involved in imperial politics, defending Constantinople and Isaac's throne against the rebellion of Alexios Branas. The emperor apparently promised Corrado more than the title of *caesar*, probably even recognition as heir to the empire. Nicetas Choniates, the Byzantine historian, related the Westerner's disappointment with his position: "Conrad was openly displeased that the emperor showed him favors he considered unbefitting his family status and not harmonious with his imperial marital connection and was unhappy that all his proud hopes resulted only in his wearing the buskins of uniform color that are given but to a few (I speak of the insignia of the *kaisars*)."[102] Despite his marriage, Corrado's aspirations were never realized; facing resentment and opposition to his ambitions in Constantinople, he left the city and his Byzantine wife for Jerusalem.[103] Once his political ambitions were dashed, his marriage was forfeit.

The tumultuous period between Andronikos's death and the coronation of Baudouin I in 1204 saw four emperors and repeated rebellions challenging the peace of the capital. Marriage was a tool in these struggles, although far from the only or even most important one. Each of these emperors claimed a relationship to the Komneni, but the legitimacy of imperial rule was lodged more directly in the support of the populace and patriarch and military strength than in the degree of kinship with the previous

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[102] Translation from Ibid., p. 217. Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, p. 395, ll 37-41: "Ὁ δὲ δυσχεραίνων προδήλως πρὸς ἣν εὕρατο ἐκ βασιλέως φιλοφροσύνην ὡς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ γένει ἀπᾴδουσαν καὶ τῷ Βασιλείῳ κήδει ἀσύμφωνον, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὑπερηφάνους ἐλπίδας καταληγούσας ἐς μόνον τὸ μὴ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁμόχρωμον ὑπόδημα τοῦ ποδὸς (τὸ τῶν καισάρων λέγω παράσημον)."

[103] Western and eastern sources recount these events: Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, pp 32-40. Translation in Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp 59-66. Robert d'Auxerre, "Chronicon," p. 250. Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp 382-94. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, pp 209-17. Analysis is in Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*, 78-84.

emperor.[104] This turmoil prepared Byzantine inhabitants of the capital to accept outsider candidates for the throne. The Fourth Crusaders, had they been more astute, might have secured support from the populace. Entering Constantinople, particularly with Bonifacio del Monferrato, the brother of two past contenders for the throne, the crusaders did not appear so different from other emperor-making factions. In fact, a Greek delegation of high-ranking clergy and members of the Varangian Guard offered the imperial crown to Bonifacio before the Latin forces entered the city.[105] With the noteworthy exception of Bonifacio del Monferrato, however, the crusaders were not interested in entering into the Byzantine tradition of imperial succession.

Bonifacio sought to harness the potential in marriage when, soon after the conquest of Constantinople, he married Margaret-Maria of Hungary, the widow of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos and the sister of the king of Hungary. Having lost the imperial election to Baudouin I, Bonifacio invoked this marriage as an alternative path to power.[106] In doing so, he demonstrated more interest in local feelings and loyalties than his colleagues did. Although his challenge to Baudouin I failed, Bonifacio strengthened his prestige and power in the areas he ruled. In the spring of 1204, he requested and was granted the kingdom of Thessaloniki instead of the land originally set aside for him, "because it [Thessaloniki] lay near the territory of the King

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[104] For examples of the patriarch and the populace influencing imperial selection see Ibid., pp 31-37, 47-57, 67-75, 120-24, 257-58. The Komneni emperors had married many of their family members to Byzantine aristocratic families. This policy created many hopeful claimants to the Komneni heritage. Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp 180-85, 202-17.
[105] Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp 187-92.
[106] For a heroic view of Boniface, suggesting his ambition, see: Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, *The Poems of the Troubadour, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, trans. Joseph Linskill (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), pp 299-312

of Hungary, whose sister he had married."[107] According to Geoffroy de Villehardouin, Bonifacio's marriage to Margaret effectively induced the Greeks near Demotika to accept him: "[B]ecause his wife, the former empress, was known to them, the Greeks began to rally to his side … to acknowledge him as their lord."[108] Both Choniates and Robert de Clari, a crusader from Picardy, recounted how Bonifacio used Margaret and her children to challenge Baudouin I's authority among the Greeks. In Choniates's version, Bonifacio broke with his fellow crusaders and had Margaret's son proclaimed emperor.[109]

Bonifacio's marriage into the imperial family did not guarantee his claim to imperial power. Robert de Clari confirmed that Bonifacio asserted his wife's status to establish his authority, but dismissed its efficacy. After failing to take Adrianople by siege, Bonifacio appealed to the city: "'How now, lords? Do you not know that this woman was the wife of Isaac the emperor?'" His wife came forward and brought her children forward and asked "'How now? Do you not recognize me to be the empress and do you not recognize my two children whom I had of Isaac the emperor?'" The nobles admitted that they knew her and her children, but refused to acknowledge her son as emperor. Instead, they told Bonifacio to have the boy crowned in Constantinople, and then they would recognize him as emperor.[110] Without a proper

[107] Translation from Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 97. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 70, ch 264: "por ce qu'il ere devers le roi de Hungrie, cui seror il avoit a fame." See also Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, pp 98-99, 105. Translation in Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp 119-21, 124.
[108] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 88, ch 279: "Et lors comencent li Grieu a lui a torner par l'acointement de l'empereris, et de tote la terre de la entor, a une jornee ou a deus, venir a sa merci." Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 101.
[109] Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp 600-1. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, pp 329-30.
[110] Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, pp 98-99: "'Ba! Seigneur, de ne connissiés vous que che fust chi femme Kyrsaac l'empereeur' Si amenoit se femme avant, et disoit se femme: 'Ba! De ne me

election and coronation, Bonifacio's marital credentials could only bring him so far. They made the Greek population more amenable to his rule but did not gain him the throne.

Bonifacio's participation in the Byzantine tradition of marrying imperial women to establish political authority and legitimacy was a natural outgrowth of his personal and familial history. Moreover, Bonifacio's circumstances left him with few other options. His rival had been elected according to the principles established in the March Pact of 1204. Both parties, crusader and Venetian, recognized his legitimate right to the throne. Bonifacio, the loser in the election, needed an ideological foundation for his challenge to Baudouin I's rule and allies. In contrast, Baudouin I and Henri were secure in the legitimacy of their rule, acquired through election, coronation, and succession. They did not see the need for further affirmation through imperial kinship. Rather, the marriages they arranged dealt with practical rather than ideological challenges to their authority.

The first imperial marriage healed the divide between the Franco-Flemish settlers and the northern Italian ones, more specifically between Baudouin I and Bonifacio del Monferrato. As discussed above, Bonifacio's failure to secure the throne through election had not diminished his ambition, and he had invoked his marriage to claim imperial authority. In 1206, Henri, the newly crowned emperor of Constantinople, married Agnes, Bonifacio's daughter. Although the sources did not

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connissiés vous que je soie empereris et de ne connissiés vous mes deux enfans que jou euch de Kyrsaac l'empereeur?' Si amenoit avant ses enfans, tant que uns sages hons de le chité respondi: 'Ouil,' fist chis, 'nous connissons bien que che fu femme Kyrsaac et que che furent si enfant.' 'Ba,' fist li marchis, 'pour coi ne connissiés vous dont l'un des enfans a seigneur?' 'Je le vous dirai,' fist chis, 'alés en Constantinoble et faites loi coroner; et quant il ara sis en le caiiere Coustentin et nous le sarons, adont si en ferons chou que faire en deverons.'" Translation in Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp 119-20.

explicitly link the marriage to the rivalry, it was a significant element of the conflict's resolution. Geoffroy de Villehardouin, who was involved in the negotiations, recounted how the barons and the doge pushed the marquis and the emperor to come to terms. Bonifacio agreed to allow the doge and three leading barons—Louis de Blois, Conon de Béthune, and Geoffroy de Villehardouin—to arbitrate the disagreement. These four then wrote to Baudouin I urging him to accept their judgment, advising, or perhaps threatening, that "they, for their part, would not countenance a war of this kind on any pretext whatsoever."[111] Baudouin I returned to Constantinople where he was persuaded to accept the arbitration. The arbiters decided that Thessaloniki should go to Bonifacio and Demotika be returned to the emperor, a conservative resolution that preserved the original division of territory.[112]

In Geoffroy de Villehardouin's account, Henri's engagement to Bonifacio's daughter, a critical element of the resolution, is delayed to later in the narrative. Although the chronicler did not explicitly link the marriage with the conflict, there can be little doubt of the connection. In 1206, Bonifacio sent Otho de la Roche, a baronial ally, to tell Henri, who was by this point emperor, that Agnes, Bonifacio's daughter, had arrived from Lombardy and that the previously arranged marriage could proceed.[113] Presumably, Agnes had been summoned for precisely this purpose. The timing

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[111] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 102, ch 293: "Et sachiez que il vos mandent il ne souffriroient la guerre en nulle fin." Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 103.

[112] Robert de Clari painted a different picture: the emperor angered, Boniface scared, the emperor willing to accept terms, and the barons reluctant. Geoffroy de Villehardouin was closer to the events, even involved, and more likely to know the story. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, pp 104-14, ch 296-305. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 104-7. Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, pp 99-100, 104-5. Translation in Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, 120-21, 124. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines also referred to the episode. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 885, ll 10-11.

[113] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, p. 264, ch 450. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 146.

suggests as much. It had been more than a year since the arbitration, more than enough time for her to have received word from her father and traveled to the East. The marriage, solemnized in the beginning of 1207, initiated the final steps in the reconciliation. Bonifacio and Henri then met face-to-face, which they had not done since the initial conflict erupted. Bonifacio performed homage to the emperor and acknowledged holding Thessaloniki from him. They agreed to participate in a joint campaign in the fall against Kalojan.[114] Although Villehardouin did not include the marriage in his account of the arbitration, it was an integral part of the negotiation and subsequent peace. It explains the delay between the agreement and the performance of homage and establishment of an offensive alliance.

For Bonifacio, the marriage secured the desired imperial title for his family, although he himself would never hold it. At their wedding, Agnes, as well as Henri, wore a crown, a fact important enough to be noted by Villehardouin.[115] When the emperor and the marquis met in the summer of 1207, Bonifacio asked after his daughter and "was delighted when the Emperor told him she was expecting a baby."[116] Perhaps he was joyous at the idea of a grandchild, probably more so at the prospect of a descendant who might one day be emperor as Bonifacio had wished to be. This ambition came to nothing, since if Agnes and Henri had any children, they did not survive to adulthood.

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[114] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, pp 308-12, ch 495-97. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 158-59. Choniates also described the joint venture. Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp 635-36. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, p. 348-49.

[115] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, p. 272, ch 457-58. Translated in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 148.

[116] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, p. 310, ch 496: "Et li marchis demanda novelles de sa file l'empereris Agnès; et on li dist que ele ere grosse d'anfant, et il en fu mult liez et joianz." Translation from Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 158.

Bonifacio was not the only actor in the post-1204 Byzantine world to employ marriage as a legitimating tactic. Byzantine elites exiled by the crusaders to Asia Minor and Greece continued to use marriages to make alliances and to establish authority in new areas. Directly after the conquest of Constantinople, Alexios V had in his company the wife and daughter of Alexios III, his predecessor and rival. Alexios V proposed an alliance, one solidified by his marriage to Eudokia, Alexios III's daughter. The pact did not last long: Alexios III betrayed and blinded his new son-in-law. Marriage could build alliances, but blinding, the traditional Byzantine method of rendering one unfit for the imperial throne, was more effective in neutralizing a rival. Alexios III did not waste the resource of his daughter: Eudokia, before 1204 the wife of a Serbian ruler, subsequently married Leo Sgouros, who held out against the crusaders at Corinth.

Two other marriage alliances proved significant in the foundation of the two most successful Greek states-in-exile, each of which would challenge the Franks' hold on Constantinople: Nicaea and Epiros. One of these marriages preceded the Fourth Crusade. Theodore Lascaris, who founded the exile Greek state in Nicaea, was married to Anna, a daughter of Alexios III's, and appointed despot by his father-in-law. After 1204, Theodore Lascaris ruled in Asia Minor with this title for two years before being crowned emperor there.[117]

The other great Greek state in the Latin Empire's reign was the Doukai-ruled polity centered around Epiros and Thessaloniki. Directly after the conquest of Constantinople, Michael Angelos Komnenos Doukas, great-grandson of Alexios I Komnenos and cousin of Isaac II and Alexios III, went on campaign with Bonifacio del

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[117] Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, pp 37-40.

Monferrato. When the opportunity arose to establish himself at Nikipolis at the end of 1204, however, Michael quickly deserted the Latins.[118] A relative of his late wife's had been governor there, and Michael enhanced this connection by marrying his widow. Although he would eventually build an empire that challenged the Franks in Constantinople, originally he focused on northern Greece and carved out territory from the land granted to the Venetians in the partition.[119]

The Greeks' interest in using marriages to establish and further claims manifested itself throughout the history of the Latin Empire. As the land of the Byzantine Empire was parceled out, marriages played an essential role in the shifting alliances among the individuals who claimed and held that land. If Bonifacio's actions showed one possible role of marriage in the post–Fourth Crusade world and the difficulties of realizing its benefits, the marriage of another imperial widow, Agnès of France, demonstrated a different potential, one actually fulfilled. Agnès, the daughter of Louis VII, the sister of Philip Augustus, and the widow of the emperors Alexios II and Andronikos Komnenos, was in her early thirties when the crusaders arrived, and her career sheds light on the cultural divide between East and West and on the possibilities that marriage could create. As a child Agnès had been sent to Constantinople to marry Alexios II and more than two decades later the gulf between her and the men from her

[118] Peter Lock proposed that Michael Doukas abandoned Bonifacio del Monferrato because of the "lack of prospects." Lock contrasted that explanation with the possibility of "nationalistic fervour" as a motivation. Michael Doukas's subsequent behavior, however, in particular his inability to commit to an alliance, suggests that his vaulting ambitions prompted his move away from Boniface and toward the promise of his own territory. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, p. 278

[119] In typical Venetian strategy, they focused on securing the ports, Durazzo and Corfu, and were willing to come to terms with Michael, allowing him to consolidate his power. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 13-19.

homeland was vast.[120] Upon their arrival, the crusaders did not know whether she was alive. They asked after her and were informed that she had married, for a third time, one Theodore Branas, an important Greek general and the descendant of the rebel Alexios Branas.[121] The barons went to visit her and treated her with honor, "but she met them with very bad grace and was very angry with them, because they had come there and had had this Alexios crowned. And she was unwilling to talk with them but had an interpreter talk for her, and the interpreter said that she did not know any French at all. But Count Louis, who was her cousin, made himself known to her."[122] The cause of Agnès's anger is not clear. Her loyalties are by no means self-evident: The new emperor was the son of Isaac II Angelos, who had successfully rebelled against her second husband Andronikos, but Andronikos had killed her first husband. The Western assault on and capture of Constantinople, attended by fires and pillaging, might have frightened or angered the ex-empress. Constantinople had been her home since childhood, and she presumably lost friends, either to death or exile. Regardless of the basis of her anger, Robert de Clari described a woman who, after so many years in Byzantium, identified completely with Byzantine culture and interests and disassociated herself from her original homeland and relatives. She had forgotten French, or at least claimed to have done so. The crusaders' lack of knowledge about whether she was alive suggests infrequent communication with the French royal court. Her absence in

[120] Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, p. 100. Various sources related Agnès's early career: Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp 275-76. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, p. 153. Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, pp 19-20. Translation in Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp 48-49.
[121] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 885, ll 21-24.
[122] Translation from Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 79. Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, p. 54: "et ele leur fist molt mauvais sanlant et molt estoit corchie de chou qu'il estoient la alé et de chou qu'il avoient chelui Alexe coroné; ne ne voloit parler a aus, aius i faisoit parler un latimier, et disoit li latimiers qu'ele ne savoit nient de Franchois. Mais li quens Loeis (chis estoit ses cousins) si s'acointa a lui."

Western chronicles confirms this impression of distance. Robert d'Auxerre, who offered an account of Andronikos's career, did not mention his marriage to Agnès, although he did note her first marriage to Alexios II.[123]

Agnès's extraordinary biography made her an anomalous figure. At a young age, she was established in a foreign capital, married to and surrounded by foreigners. She was quickly caught up in the drama of imperial succession and, while still a child, lived through a massacre of Westerners in her adopted city. Agnès's cultural and linguistic distance from her homeland lacks a direct correspondence in the lives of the Franks. Unlike Agnès, the Fourth Crusaders were adults who had developed careers and loyalties in the West, and they had the company of fellow countrymen in their new home. They could and did bring with them Western ways of acting and thinking, and they provided, for themselves and their children, an alternative to Byzantine culture. Agnès's early history, nevertheless, demonstrates the distance, both physical and cultural, that separated Constantinople and France—a distance that became evident in different ways during the span of the Latin Empire. She may have, at least in her own mind, crossed the boundary that encircled a French or Western identity and become Byzantine. In rejecting French, and doing so angrily, she rejected her own origins and childhood in favor of a new linguistic and, presumably, cultural identity. Yet, Robert de Clari's account suggests that, to the crusaders, she was still a French princess, despite the linguistic difference and her sharp response. She could still be drawn back in to the network created by her birth.

Agnès's disappearance from Western sight and her reaction to the crusaders bespeak the gulf between Byzantium and the West in the late twelfth century. Her later

[123] Robert d'Auxerre, "Chronicon," pp 246-47.

career, under Latin rule, attests to the possibilities present in cross-cultural alliances between Franks and Greeks, especially those enforced through marriage. The marriage between Agnès and Branas served both the couple and the crusaders well. In the immediate aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, the Greeks in Adrianople and Demotika allied with the Bulgarian tsar Kalojan but soon grew frightened of him.[124] In the spring of 1206, the citizens of these cities approached Branas and begged him to broker a peace between them and Henri, the regent, offering to turn Adrianople and Demotika over to the crusaders. No powerful Greek state existed to protect them, and the Franks were a less threatening and more appealing master than were the Bulgarians. The French agreed and Branas, with Agnès, was placed in charge of the two cities.[125] This strategy of granting two extremely important cities to a Greek ally of the Latin Empire was effective. Once they joined with the Latin Empire against Kalojan, the Greeks of Adrianople remained reliable allies and staunchly resisted Bulgarian sieges despite the great pressure put on the city.[126] According to Villehardouin, they appealed to Henri for help and welcomed him when he arrived to protect them from the Bulgarians.[127] Adrianople remained under Western jurisdiction for almost twenty years until Epirote

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[124] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 21-24, ch 13. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 139-41, ch 13.

[125] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, vol II, pp 214-16, 226, 254-56, ch 403, 413, 441-42. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 138-41. *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier* (Paris, 1871), p. 390.

[126] Adrianople's importance was recognized early on by Henry's advisers who counseled him: that it was better to lose land in Anatolia "than risk losing Adrianople and the main part of their empire." Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 152-53, 156. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, p. 302, ch 488: "Or prist l'emperere conseil a ses homes; et distrent que il ne pooient les .II. guerres souffrir ensemble, et que mielz valoit cil damages assoffrir que la parte d'Andrenople ne de l'autre terre."

[127] Ibid., pp 234-40, ch 422-27. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 139-41, 157.

forces seized it in 1223.[128] Branas's loyalty matched that of the city he ruled, and he remained an ally of the Franks when many other Greeks were in revolt.[129] His father or grandfather had rebelled against Isaac II Angelos and sought the imperial throne, but Branas did not evince these ambitions. He could have used his marriage to Agnès to challenge Frankish rule. Instead, the couple set aside any reservations they had and cooperated with the new regime. Branas was important enough that Aubri de Trois-Fontaines knew of him and labeled him "Grecum potentissimum."[130] The couple's continued allegiance to the Franks and the significance of that commitment were reinforced in their daughter's marriage to Narjot de Toucy, an important baron, adviser to the Courtenay emperors, and *bailli* of the empire.[131] Agnès's movement away from her French roots came full circle as her daughter reentered the French milieu of the imperial barons.

Before fully moving onto Henri's reign, and its substantial changes in policies and attitudes, it is worth pausing for a moment to survey the marriages arranged under Baudouin I's rule and consider their efficacy in achieving certain objectives. In the first year of the Latin Empire, four crusader marriages intervened significantly in events in and around Constantinople, although the role they fulfilled was not always the intended one. To take them in chronological order: Baudouin I's marriage to Marie of

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[128] Alice Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea: The Story of an Empire in Exile* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1964), p. 117. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 103-4. See Jean de Brienne's letter and promise to take back Adrianople and Didymoteichos. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 267-68. The capture of Adrianople is related in Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 339-41, ch 24. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 171-73, ch 24.

[129] Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp 629-30, 642. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, pp 345, 352. Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," pp 328-33, ch 543, 546. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, pp 214-16, 226, ch 403, 413. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 133-34, 136. Longnon discussed Branas's role. *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 133-34.

[130] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 947, ll 3-4.

[131] Ibid., p. 885, ll 21-24.

Champagne, enacted before the Fourth Crusade, facilitated the count-emperor's close relationship with men from Champagne, several of whom turned out to be very important figures in the history of the Latin Empire. Agnès and Branas's marriage, also occurring before 1204, pulled Branas into the Western circuit and was central in the surrender of Adrianople and its subsequent loyalty to Constantinople. Bonifacio's marriage to Margaret-Maria, although it did not win him the imperial throne, increased his appeal to the Byzantine population and thus aided his conquest of Thessaloniki. Finally, Henri and Agnes's marriage played a critical role in resolving the enmity between Bonifacio and the Flemish emperors. These marriages, disparate as they were, gave the Franks ample reason to view marriage as an effective tool in resolving conflict and ensuring loyalty.

<u>CHAPTER 2:</u>

ADAPTATION AND CONSERVATISM, 1205–1216

Henri took control in Constantinople first as regent for his captured brother and then as emperor himself once Baudouin I's death seemed certain. Modern historians agree with contemporary observers that Henri's reign was the apogee of the Latin Empire. No subsequent ruler displayed his combination of military and diplomatic skills, finely tuned judgment, and willingness both to fight and to negotiate. During Baudouin I's reign, Henri was a loyal supporter who carried out his brother's policies.[132] Over the decade of his own rule, however, Henri demonstrated a willingness to compromise that his brother lacked. His sentiments—both toward the West and his neighbors—were similar to his brother's, but he was willing to set aside these feelings in the interest of the empire.[133] A "Frankish" sensibility can be discerned in the settlers during Henri's reign. He himself developed, over time, a subtle understanding of his Greek subjects and various neighbors and brought that understanding to life in his actions. Aggression was the hallmark of Baudouin I's attitude toward neighboring countries. Under Henri, however, Constantinople's interactions with her neighbors evolved to include alliances. He participated in the

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[132] In March 1205, Baudouin I recalled Henri from Asia Minor to assist him in the European campaigns. Villehardouin, "La Conquête de Constantinople," 202, ch 340. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 116. Godfrey, *1204, the Unholy Crusade*.

[133] The words of Akropolites have been extremely influential in formulating this opinion. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 28, ch 16: "Ὁ δ' εἰρημένος Ἐρῆς, εἰ καὶ Φράγγος τὸ γένος ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' οὖν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ἰθαγενέσι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἱλαρώτερον προσεφέρετο, καὶ πολλοὺς εἶχε τοὺς μὲν τοῖς μεγάλοις τούτου συντεταγμένους, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν πλῆθος ὡς οἰκεῖον περιεῖπε λαόν." Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 153: "The said Henry, even though a Frank by birth, behaved graciously to the Romans who were natives of the city of Constantine, and ranked many of them among his magnates, others among his soldiers, while the common populace he treated as his own people."

system of diplomatic relations that his brother had avoided. Not only was Henri willing to make treaties with the foreign powers surrounding Constantinople, but also he solidified these arrangements with marriages. During Henri's reign, four members of the imperial family, including him, intermarried as part of alliances with the Doukai, the Bulgarians, and the Hungarians.

The transformation of attitude is most marked in relations with Bulgaria: Where the crusaders refused an alliance in 1203, Henri and his barons planned and executed two marriages. These occurred in the context of the chaos following Kalojan's death. There were four rivals for the Bulgarian throne, all Kalojan's nephews: Boril, who married Kalojan's widow and was crowned tsar; John Asen, who fled upon Kalojan's death; Strez, perhaps Boril's brother; and Slav, who set himself up in Byzantine territory.[134] Kalojan's punishing attacks on the Latin Empire and his capture of Frankish leaders including Baudouin I had made obvious the threat a strong Bulgarian leader posed to Constantinople. Henri and his barons saw the benefit in preventing the consolidation of power in Bulgaria and they used alliances with the various factions to prevent any one from dominating. Two different sources agree that Henri was reluctant to ally with the Bulgarians because he saw them as savages, but that he bowed to his barons' insistence.

In the summer of 1208, Slav successfully requested a marriage with the emperor's illegitimate, Western-born daughter. The marriage, glossed as a union of a civilized Westerner with a savage, proved a harbinger of future alliances. Henri de

[134] Plamen Tzvetkov, *A History of the Balkans: a Regional Overview from a Bulgarian Perspective* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1993), pp 178-79. G. Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs von Konstantinopel von 13 Januar 1212. Überlieferingsgeschichte, Neuedition und Kommentar," *Byzantion* 43 (1973): 410-14**.**

Valenciennes reported Slav's proposal: "I am a rich enough man in land and treasure of silver and gold; and people see me in my country as a genteel man. So I ask you, if you please, to give her to me."[135] The terms were agreed upon and Slav did homage to Henri and went on campaign with Eustache, Henri's brother.[136] The wedding took place the following autumn, after Slav's demonstration of loyalty on the battlefield. No record survives of the bride's journey to the East, but it was most likely for this marriage. She was certainly born before the Fourth Crusade, since she was old enough to marry in 1208 and to discuss the marriage with her father.

The difference between the Flemish noblewoman and the Bulgarian prince was explicitly mapped onto a civilized-savage distinction. Geoffroy de Villehardouin, the marshal, described the emperor's daughter to Slav as "beautiful, wise, courteous and kind, patient, and endowed with all good qualities that a young noblewoman ought to possess."[137] In Henri de Valenciennes's account, the emperor himself made the contrast more explicit. In speaking to his daughter, he called her "wise and courteous" while warning her that her new husband was "a little savage."[138] The cultural distance was

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[135] Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," p. 332, ch 547: "je sui assés riches hom de terre et de tresor d'argent et d'or; et assés me tient on en mon pais por jentill home. Si vous pri, s'il vous plaist, que vous le me donnés."

[136] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 38-39, ch 24. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 172, ch 24. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, p. 67. Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," pp 330-34, ch 545-49. See analysis in Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 100-1, 104-5.

[137] Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," p. 336, ch 555: "belle, sage, courtoise et deboinaire, et soufrans, et entechie de toutes boines teches ke damoisiele doit avoir en soi."

[138] Ibid., p. 338, ch 558-59: "Biele fille, or soiiés sage et courtoise. Vous avés un home pris avoec lequel vous vos en alés, ki est auques sauvages; car vous n'entendés son langage, ne il ne reset point dou vostre. Pour Diu, gardés ke vous jà pour chou ne soiiés ombrage vers lui, ne changans de vostre talent, ne vilaine. Car molt est grans hontes à jentill feme quant elle desdaigne son mari, et si en est trop durement blasmée à Diu et au siecle. Sour toute rien, por Diu, gardés ke vos ne lassiés vo boin usage pour l'autrui mauvais. Si soiiés simple, douche, deboinaire, et soufrans tant comme vostre maris vaudra; et si honnerés toute se gent por s'ounor. Mais deseur tout, gardés toutes voies ke vous jà por lor amour ne por lor acointance, quele ke il l'aient à vous ne vous à eus, retraiiés vostre cuer de nostre gent amer, dont vous iestes estraite."

further reinforced with the observation that "you do not understand his language, and he does not know yours." He advised his daughter to treat her husband well and, indeed, to honor him, since to do otherwise would bring great shame on her. Yet, this relationship should not cause her to relinquish her identity**:** "[B]e careful not to abandon your good habits for the bad ones of others." Moreover, he advised her "be careful, however, that for their love and their company, whether it may be from them to you or you to them, that you do not break your heart of love for your nation, from which you came out of." In other words, do not become a Bulgarian. Henri believed that his daughter could honor her new husband, even be close to him, but retain her natal affiliation. Marriage should not wipe away this allegiance and the sentiment that accompanied it. In response to Henri's warning, his daughter expressed her affection for him and offered a prayer for the quick defeat of his enemies and the increase of his honor, a devotion that acknowledged the military context of the marriage and expressed her willingness to play her role in the alliance.[139]

Henri's own marriage to a Bulgarian followed his daughter's. In April of 1211, Boril, Kalojan's nephew and successor, launched an unsuccessful attack on the Latin Empire. Defeated and confronted both with internal dissent (from supporters of his cousin John Asen) and with the alliance between Slav and Henri, Boril was ready to make peace. Henri's alliance with Boril's weaker rival had successfully forced the Bulgarian ruler to negotiate.[140] The agreement included the marriage of Maria, Boril's

[139] Ibid., pp 338-40, ch 559.
[140] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, p. 129. Henri discussed these developments in his letter to the West. Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs"

daughter, to the emperor.[141] According to Robert de Clari, the barons urged Henri to seek Maria's hand in marriage. Henri balked saying that "he would never take a wife of such low lineage."[142] Only vocal baronial advocacy persuaded him to make overtures to Boril. They argued in favor of the alliance, "for they [the Bulgarians] are the most powerful people and the most dread enemy of the empire and of the land."[143] The barons' argument admitted the foreignness of the Bulgarians; they did not try to convince Henri that they were not savage, but rather that the alliance was necessary and thus the disadvantage should be overcome. Robert de Clari reaffirmed this perception when he called Bulgaria "chele sauvage terre." [144] The practical demands of the situation, however, were stronger than Henri's prejudices, and a joint campaign in Serbia followed the wedding.[145]

In both Henri de Valenciennes and Robert de Clari, the word "sauvage" describes the Bulgarians and their land. Henri's utterances within the texts specifically identified language and birth, or lineage, as markers of difference. His conversation with his daughter suggests that the habits and customs of the Bulgarians also offended him, although he did not specify what those were. The shared religious allegiance was not mentioned in these episodes. The marriages of Henri and his daughter to Bulgarians

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[141] Baudoin d'Avesnes, "Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes," in *Recherches et materiaux*, ed. J. A. C. Buchon (Paris), p. 505. Andreas Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, ed. Ester Pastorello (Bologna, 1938), p. 285, ll 31-34. Latrie, *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, p. 391. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 886, ll 28-32. See the description in Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 127-28.

[142] Translation from Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, pp 127-28. Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, p. 108, ch CXVI: "Et li empereres respondi ke femme de si bas parage ne prendroit il ja."

[143] Translation from Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, p. 128. Clari, *La conquète de Constantinople*, p. 108, ch CXVI: "nous vous loons bien que vous vous acordés a aus, car che sont le plus fort gent et le plus doutee de l'empire ne de le tere."

[144] Ibid..

[145] Little is known about the military action; only a vague reference in a Serbian chronicle attests to it. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 149-50.

were the first of their type, but they were far from the only examples in the Latin Empire. Over the years of occupation, the settlers' stance evolved away from that of Western Europeans, and they viewed their neighbors with more equanimity. In later marriages between the Franks and their neighbors, the cultural or religious difference was still acknowledged, but the language of disgust disappeared. These marriages show the beginning of that process.

The Bulgarian alliances served Henri and the Franks well. In 1211, Slav was ranged with them against Boril.[146] Near the end of his life, he rejoined the Bulgarian court under John II Asen. The peace with Boril even outlived the alliance's principal actors. Henri died in 1216 and a year later Asen and his brother arrived in Bulgaria and overthrew Boril.[147] The connection with Constantinople was ruptured but open warfare did not break out. Circumstances in both polities created little incentive for either cooperation or conflict: The Latin Empire lost three rulers in three years; the new Bulgarian ruler had to establish his power; and each state was too concerned with other matters to constitute an active threat.

These marriages showcase another feature of Frankish society in the Latin Empire: the central role of the barons in governance. The barons had already flexed their muscles in forcing reconciliation between Bonifacio and Baudouin I. In later years, barons would make marriage alliances in pursuit of imperial goals.[148] In these early years, their role was more limited but still essential. This arrangement set the Latin Empire apart from many Western governments but echoed the situation in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The nobility of that

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[146] Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs," pp 417-18.
[147] Tzvetkov, *A History of the Balkans: a Regional Overview from a Bulgarian Perspective*, pp 182-83.
[148] See pp 200-23 below.

crusader kingdom began to consolidate as a group in the mid-twelfth century, and the baronial opposition and civil war during the reigns of Fulk of Anjou, Melisende, and Baudouin III further strengthened their power.[149] In particular, the barons in Jerusalem exercised impressive influence over royal marriages. They forced two monarchs, Amalric and Sibylle, to set aside their spouses before ascending the throne. The involvement of the barons in their monarch's marriage demonstrates one way in which Western practices were modified to accommodate to local circumstances. This power over marriage was rooted in the West where vassals' counsel on the matter of a lord's marriages was a long-standing custom. In the crusader states, which were in perpetual need of alliances and treaties, marriage was a political, diplomatic, and military matter. When they advised Henri, the barons acted not only in their role as vassals but also as stakeholders in the government. If the depictions of Henri de Valenciennes and Robert de Clari are accurate, the barons adjusted more quickly than Henri to the realities of their new situation and were more willing to accept and encourage foreign marriages, at least for the emperor if not for themselves. Repeatedly, the barons of the Latin Empire exercised their influence in matters of diplomacy and marriage. In the case of Robert's marriage, considered in the next chapter, they used violence when influence failed.

The Bulgarians were not the only threat in the region, nor were they the only target for alliances. The Latin Empire also had to contend with displaced Byzantines in Asia Minor and mainland Greece. Once the exiled Greek elites established themselves in the new centers of Epiros and Nicaea, they, like the Bulgarians, formed a direct threat to the Latin Empire. In an attempt to manage these threats, Henri and subsequent emperors sought and formed alliances with the Greek rulers. Marriages sometimes

[149] See, for example, Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp 27-35.

accompanied the agreements. In 1209, Henri arranged the first imperial marriage between a Frank and a Greek, honoring Michael Doukas as his alliance partner. For the Franks, it seems, marriages with Greeks had many pitfalls, but they were not savages, as the Bulgarians were.

In the summer of 1209, Henri's campaign against the Lombard barons brought him near Michael Doukas's territory. Epiros was a powerful force in the region and had the potential to threaten Western control of both Thessaloniki and southern Greece. Michael's brother, Theodore, was supporting Leo Sgouros, a Greek holding out against the Franks in Corinth and, later, Argos.[150] Michael approached Henri and proposed a treaty. According to Henri de Valenciennes, the emperor sent two envoys, Conon de Béthune and Pierre de Douai, with the following suggestion: If Michael acknowledged Henri as lord for all his territory, the emperor would treat him as he treated his own brother. When presented with this offer, Michael extended a counterproposal: If his daughter and the emperor's brother, Eustache, were joined in marriage, Michael would give Eustache one-third of his land and commit himself to serve the emperor. This marriage translated an inimical relationship into a familial tie and was amenable to the emperor's envoys and to the emperor and his brother.[151] The marriage and alliance quickly followed.[152]

The alliance with Michael was perfectly designed to increase Eustache's power base near Thessaloniki, which would in turn increase imperial authority there. It also removed Michael as an enemy and introduced the possibility that he would provide the

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[150] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 25-29.

[151] Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," pp 416-20, ch 688-94. Nicol discussed this alliance. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 28-29.

[152] Confirmation of the marriage comes in a letter of Innocent III's: "E. fratri ejus, cui idem Michalicius filiam suam primogenitam tradiderat in uxorem." Migne, *PL*, 216: col 353-54.

Franks with military assistance in Greece. Epiros, carved from Venetian spoils, would remain within its current boundaries and not strike at imperial or baronial lands. As in his alliances with the Bulgarians, Henri was trying to manage his neighbors and potential threats, not obliterate them. He had resigned himself, at least in the short term, to the presence of powerful states in the vicinity.

Henri de Valenciennes described the negotiations between Henri and Michael Doukas. This scene presents a contrast in several ways to those between Henri and Slav, recorded in the same text. Although the text breaks off before Henri's reaction to the marriage with Michael Doukas, there is no suggestion in the work that the Greeks were inferior or the connection unsuitable. Although Slav himself came before the emperor, Conon de Bèthune and Pierre de Douai travelled to see Michael Doukas. Both Slav and Michael Doukas proposed the respective marriages, yet in the latter case the imperial envoys first undertook to persuade the Greek of the suitability of a proposed peace treaty. Henri had sent a letter but the envoys added "beautiful polite speeches" making the emperor's case.[153] Michael Doukas's somewhat haughty demeanor (he made the suggestion about the marriage "smiling") was worlds away from Slav's prostrations.[154] Moreover, although the emperor Henri did not initially suggest the marriage, he did offer to treat Michael "as his own brother," suggesting the kin nature of their new relationship.[155]

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[153] Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," p. 418, ch 692: "Et Cuenes de Biethune et Pieres de Douay se prendent à parler et à dires uns biaus mos polis, et à mettre avant le parole de lor segnor par si grant mesure, et à deffendre se partie en respondant ke mestiers lor iert si tempréement, ke chil ki encontre eus estoient en estoient ausi come tout abaubi."
[154] Ibid., p. 420, ch 693: "Adont lor dist ausi come en sozriant."
[155] Ibid., p. 418, ch 690: "à mon frere proprement."

The evaluation of Michael Doukas in this episode is not positive. The emperor described Michael Doukas as "treacherous and false."[156] The accusation of treachery, of course, echoes Western negative attitudes toward Greeks. It could be interpreted as a stock insult, parallel to the Bulgarians' savagery, except that, in the case of Michael Doukas, as we will see, the accusation of inconsistency and treachery was perfectly appropriate.

Despite the religious schism between the Greeks and Latins and the often-heated rhetoric surrounding their differences, as marriage partners, the Greeks were far more familiar to Westerners than were Bulgarians. During the reign of Manuel Komnenos, marriages between Byzantines and Westerners were common. Manuel married his two children, Alexios and Maria, and several of his nieces to Westerners. Manuel himself had married Maria of Antioch, a cousin of Eleanor of Aquitaine's. The religious schism did not prevent or even present a serious obstacle to marriages.[157] The cultural distance from the Bulgarians was far more significant in this regard.

Michael may have been a culturally acceptable relative, but, in spite of the marriage, he was a wholly unreliable ally. By the following summer, he had reached an agreement with the Venetians in which he promised his loyalty and free trade for their merchants in return for recognition of his territorial holdings.[158] Secure in his lands, he went on the offensive against the Franks, capturing and killing the constable of the

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[156] Ibid., p. 418, ch 689: "mervelleusement trahitres et faus."
[157] See Raymond H. Schmandt, "Orthodoxy and Catholicism: Public Opinion, the Schism, and the Fourth Crusade," *Diakonia* III (1968): 297-98.
[158] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 30-31. Michael Doukas referred to himself as "Ego Michael Comnanus Dux, filius quondam Seuastocratoris Joannis Ducis." Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, pp 119-23, no. CCXXIII and CCXXIV.

Latin Empire and many of his companions.[159] He followed this initial strike by allying with a contender for the Bulgarian throne, Strez, with whom he launched a joint attack on Thessaloniki.[160] Michael's career was one of mercurial loyalties: He briefly rejoined with Eustache, only to betray him and capture Larissa in the summer of 1212. Luckily for the Franks in Thessaloniki, he appears to have lost interest in that city and turned against another ally, attacking the Venetian possessions Durazzo and Corfu.

Of the marriages considered so far, only this last one failed to achieve its goal, and it failed spectacularly. The breakdown of the alliance reflects not a problem with marriage's efficacy, but rather with Michael's personality. Donald Nicol summarized Michael's career succinctly: "The promises and treaties that Michael found it expedient to make with Italians and Franks alike were never more than breathing-spaces in his campaigns against them, solemnly made and simply broken."[161] Michael never truly committed to any ally: He made and broke alliances with Venetians, the pope, the Bulgarians, and the Nicaean Greeks, in addition to the Latin Empire.[162] There is no sign that anything could have assured his loyalty. Not even marriage, which was successful in other circumstances, could turn such an erratic self-server into a reliable ally. Despite Michael's treachery, however, Henri adhered to the core assumption that marriage had the power to transform antagonism into alliance. His outrage at Michael's behavior confirms the point. To Henri, Michael was a "traditor potentissimus" who,

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[159] The Venetians apparently did not see a conflict of interest in having an accord with Michael as he moved against the Latin Empire.
[160] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 33-34. Papal letter to the patriarch of Constantinople calling for excommunication of those who join with Greeks to oppose the Latin Empire and especially with Michael. Augustus Potthast, *Regesta pontificum romanorum inde ab a. post christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV* (Berlin, 1875), p. 357. no. 4139. Constantin Jos Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren* (Prague: Von F. Tempsky, 1876), pp 243-44**.**
[161] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, p. 26.
[162] Ibid., pp 32-42.

along with his ally Strez, betrayed no fewer than four oaths of loyalty to Henri alone.[163] His use of the term "traditor" suggests a Christian betraying another Christian. Under these circumstances, Henri's continued willingness to renew cooperation with Michael is striking. It cannot be blamed on either relentless optimism or naïveté; in his dealings with Bulgarians and the Lascarids of Nicaea, the emperor had demonstrated considerable political acumen. A more likely explanation is that the lure of peace was too great to resist. Faced with threats from Asia Minor, a recent and fragile peace with Bulgaria and the rebellion of the Lombard barons, Henri would have found even a brief period of quiet in Greece tantalizing. The anomalous failure of this particular marriage to secure peace did not interfere with the Latin emperors' continuation of the practice.

In Henri's letter to the West in 1212, he talked about Slav, Boril, and Michael, the former as an ally and the latter two as enemies. Slav appeared (briefly) as "our associate Slav, our son-in-law" but the relationships with the other two men were not explicitly mentioned.[164] When discussing an earlier campaign against the Bulgarians, Henri noted that Michael had been an "associatus" of the Franks, specifically Eustache, the same word used to describe Slav.[165] This difference reflects Henri's agenda. Although the conflict with Boril had already been resolved, the Franks' defeats of their enemies appear as heroic events on the battlefield, not resolved through the murkier process of diplomacy. With Michael, of course, the failure of the marriage to secure peace made broadcasting it unappealing. To the West, Henri portrayed the Franks as

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[163] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, p. 122. An edition of the letter with a commentary has been published in Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs". An older edition can be found in M. J. J. Brial, ed., *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1822), XVIII: 530-33.
[164] Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs," p. 418: "associati Sclavo, genero nostro."
[165] Ibid., p. 414.

beset on every side by enemies and triumphing on the battlefield. This presentation supported his stated need for more men to hold the territory.[166]

Henri preserved himself and his close relatives for marriages that resolved a conflict and pacified, at least for a short time, an enemy. The Latin Empire's perilous position, even during Henri's largely successful reign, made this focus necessary. A final marriage, however, suggests that Henri was responsive to the need to solidify friendships as well. The closest natural ally the Westerners had in the region was Andrew, king of Hungary. Hungary straddled eastern and western Europe geographically and culturally. Twelfth-century Hungarian rulers and their kin frequently married both Westerners, including relatives of the kings of Aragon and of France, and their own neighbors, including nobles from Serbia, Byzantium, and Russia.[167] The Hungarian church was loyal to Rome, despite its proximity to Constantinople, and Hungarian kings played an important role in papal plans for the aid of the Holy Land.[168] The Fourth Crusade risked squandering this relationship with the attack and capture of Zara, a Hungarian possession, an act that threatened the Hungarian commitment to the crusading enterprise and the Latin Empire.[169] Healing this breach was essential, especially given the unpredictable nature of the relationship with various Bulgarian factions. An alliance with Hungary could provide much-needed practical support to the Latin Empire as well as a deterrent to her enemies.

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166 Ibid., p. 418.
167 Engel and Ayton, *The Realm of St. Stephen: a History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, pp 50-51, 89. In the 1160s, Manuel's daughter had been engaged to Béla of Hungary. Twenty years later, Isaac II married Maria of Hungary, who would go on, after his death, to marry Bonifacio del Monferrato. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*, p. 78. See pp 47-49 above.
168 Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 905, ll 37-41. Andrew sent a representative to the synod in 1215 in the church of St Salvatoris. Ibid., p. 903, l 30. On the election of Pierre see Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 5440. On preparations Ibid., no. 5456.
169 Z. J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, East European Monographs (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp 26-29.

In 1215, Andrew married Yolande de Courtenay, daughter of Pierre de Courtenay and Yolande of Flanders, Henri's sister.[170] Although there is no direct mention of Henri's involvement in the marriage, the circumstantial evidence is substantial. The marriage to Yolande with her Western prestige and Eastern connections fits perfectly into Andrew's career.[171] He arranged marriages with important foreigners for himself and his children, mixing alliances with nearby rulers and those in the West.[172] His marriage to Yolande marked a period during which he focused on alliances closer to home. Two years after their marriage, in 1217, he went on crusade and arranged a series of engagements with Eastern powers: his son to the daughter of Theodore Lascaris, his niece to the sultan, his younger son to the daughter of an Armenian ruler, and his daughter to Asen.[173] An alliance with the Franks was perfectly in line with these other arrangements. In addition to a general desire for good relations with Constantinople, Andrew may have sought Henri's aid in his struggle with

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[170] In 1220, the pope placed Yolande under his protection, ensuring her portion should Andrew predecease her. Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 6328. Augustino Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram* (Rome: Typis Vaticanus, 1859), II: 13-14, nos. 22, 50. Reinhold Röhricht, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges* (Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1968), p. 23, ftnt 7-8, pp 30-31. For reports of Yolande's death see Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 933, ll 7-9.
[171] Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*.
[172] His first marriage was to Gertrude, the daughter of the duke of Merania on the Dalmatian coast, and one of their daughters, the famed Saint Elizabeth, married a German nobleman. Later in his reign, he married his daughter to James I of Aragon and his third marriage, after Yolande's death, was to the daughter of the margrave of Ancona, in northern Italy. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 873, l 11, p. 898, ll 24-30. Engel and Ayton, *The Realm of St. Stephen: a History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, pp 90-91, 97. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, pp 41, 46-48.
[173] Ibid., pp 67-70. Theiner, *VMH*, pp 20-21, nos. XXXII-XXXIII. The marriage between his daughter and Asen was delayed until 1221 because Asen had to get papal approval to set aside his first wife. Tzvetkov, *A History of the Balkans: a Regional Overview from a Bulgarian Perspective*, p. 183. Also, Anka D. Vasileva, "Les relations politiques bulgaro-latines au cours de la période 1218–1241," *Bulgarian Historical Review* 7 (1979): 77. In the early 1220s he embarked on an unsuccessful attempt to separate his son Béla from his wife, the daughter of Theodore Lascaris. The pope refused to consent, and Béla and Maria were reunited and fled to Austria to escape Andrew's anger. In 1224, the pope and other ecclesiastics used their powers to bring about reconciliation. The conflict is dealt with in a series of papal letters: Potthast, *Regesta*, pp 73-79, 89-93, nos. 6845, 7124. Theiner, *VMH*, no. LXXXV.

Serbia.[174] In 1215, Henri had recently triumphed over his greatest enemies and sealed treaties with Bulgaria and Nicaea. For once in its besieged history, the Latin Empire was in a position to help others.[175] Although Andrew sought close relationships with the West, a marriage to such a distant noblewoman was unlikely to tempt him without further incentive.

The history of Yolande's family confirms the likelihood that Henri participated in arranging the marriage. The Courtenays were a powerful French aristocratic family with close ties to the French kings and an intricate involvement in French and Flemish politics. Her marriage to the king of Hungary was an unusual one; members of her family had previously remained close to home: Her sisters who married before 1217 did so among the Champenois, Burgundian, and Flemish nobility.[176] Her brothers

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[174] One source asserts that Henri and Andrew allied against the king of Serbia. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 95-96, no. 137.

[175] Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik suggested a further, specific rationale for Andrew's interest in the alliance: a desire for the throne in Constantinople. He pointed to Andrew's crusade in 1217 as a ploy intended to help him gain favor with the pope and the imperial barons so they would promote him to emperor, a position left vacant by Henri's death. By going on crusade, Andrew was "imitating the political circumstances that had surrounded the Fourth Crusade" in order to "realize his goal of gaining great power and predominance in Byzantium." Andrew was a candidate for the imperial throne after Henri's death, a candidacy helped by his marriage to Yolande. It is doubtful, however, that he arranged the marriage to Yolande in order to stake a claim to Constantinople: she was, at the time, the niece of an emperor who had a brother, a sister, an illegitimate daughter, and a wife. In 1215, there was no indication that Henri would die so soon and without an heir. Compared to the other marriages arranged by the Latin emperor—his own, his illegitimate daughter's, his brother's—one to Henri's niece from the West cannot have offered much hope for succession to the throne. Although we know that Andrew was under consideration for the crown at Constantinople after Henri's death, it would be a mistake to read backward from that unexpected circumstance. Andrew may have aspired to Constantinople, but his marriage to Yolande was similar to his other marriages in the region, part of strategies creating alliances, not seeking thrones. If Henri arranged the marriage between Andrew and Yolande, he was implementing a long-standing practice in the region for ensuring friendship and support, one that Andrew, in particular, was likely to understand. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, p. 60. See pp 89-98 below for a full discussion of events after Henri's death. Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 5440.

[176] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 906, l 30: "Unam filiarum eius, Hyolenz nomine, duxit Andreas rex Ungarie; secundara, nomine Sibiliam, habuit Radulfus de Eddolduno in Bituria, quam postea duxit comes Henricus de Vienna et Ardenna; tertiam habuit Lascarus Grecus, qui dicebatur imperator Nicee, sed de ista filios non habuit; quartum Gaufridus iunior de Villa Harduini, filius Gaufridi principis de insula Montionis; quintam Galtherus de Barro super Sequanam, comitis Milonis filius, quam postea duxit Odo, Alexandri filius, frater ducis Burgundie Odonis."

Philippe, Henri, and Robert were involved in French and Flemish politics.[177] Her siblings who entered the church did so in France.[178] There was no reason for Yolande to break with this pattern, except for the Latin Empire's need to enhance its ties to Hungary, the closest friendly, established power to the new Aegean states, the most important of which was ruled by her uncle.[179] Two years after Yolande's marriage, her parents became emperor and empress of Constantinople.[180] Although there is no sign that this development was being considered in 1215, it suggests that the older Yolande maintained a close relationship with her brothers even after they became emperors of Constantinople. Henri's appeal across Europe to his sister, requesting a bride for his Hungarian alliance, is not confirmed but its occurrence is almost certain.

The four marriages of Henri's reign, along with those made after his death, were central to the empire's foreign policy. Contemporaries as well as historians saw the connection between marriage and political necessity in the Latin Empire. Baudouin d'Avesnes described, incorrectly, Henri's actions after his success against the rebellion of the Lombards in Thessaloniki: "[H]e made peace with John, the king of Bulgaria, and with Theodore Lascaris, and the third with king Andrew of Hungary. These three young ladies were daughters of the count Pierre d'Auxerre and the countess Yolande, sister of the emperor. By these marriages he acquired great peace and great aid, but he

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[177] Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde (Paris: Libraire de la société de l'histoire de France), yr 1214. Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 20. Jean Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Courtenay* (Paris, 1661), Preuves, p. 17.
[178] Augustin Berton, *Courtenay et ses anciens seigneurs: notes historiques* (Marseille: Laffitte, 1975), pp 67-68.
[179] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 882, ll 42-43. Andrew's brother, Emery, had died in 1204. A conflict over succession arose between Andrew and Emery's young son. Andrew claimed the throne and then Emery's son died in exile and the pope recognized Andrew as the rightful successor. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, pp 29-32.
[180] See pp 89-98 below.

did not live long afterwards, and he died without heirs.[181] Baudouin correctly reported the marriage between Andrew and Yolande, but the rest is wrong: The marriage alliances with Bulgarians involved Henri's daughter and Henri himself, and they were alliances with Slav and Boril, not Kalojan or John Asen. The marriage between Theodore Lascaris and the daughter of Pierre and Yolande de Courtenay came later. More important than the details, however, is the explicit linking of marriage and diplomatic alliances; through marriage, various alliances brought peace and aid to the empire. As with Aubri de Trois-Fontaines's description of Baudouin's death, the centrality of marriage is clear, even if the details are slippery.

Despite the language of cultural difference, then, Henri's decisions about marriages were governed by strategic considerations. Kin connections had the clear purpose of ensuring peace, but marriage was not the only diplomatic strategy and not all alliances were accompanied by weddings. Marriages might not be possible or desirable due to the lack of available partners, vast cultural or religious differences, or the practical concerns of political and diplomatic affairs. Marriage was reserved for the more highly valued alliances and, thus, the most feared enemies or desired friends. The Franks' greater interest in securing territories in Greece, Thrace, and Constantinople's hinterland, which they viewed as necessary for their continued hold on the city, than their interest in conquering lands in Asia Minor was reflected in the marriages arranged during Henri's reign. In particular, Henri and his advisers reserved marriage for dealings with their European neighbors, Bulgaria, Epiros, and Hungary. In Asia Minor,

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[181] Baudoin d'Avesnes, "Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes," p. 505: "il fist pais à Johennis le roi de Balquie, et à Toldre Lascre, et la tierce au roi Andrieu de Hongrie. Ces trois demoiselles estoient filles le conte Pierron d'Ausoirre et la contesse Yolent, suer l'empereour. Par ces mariaiges aquist il grant pais et grant aide; mais il ne vesqui gaires après, ains moru sans hoirs de sa char."

they followed a different strategy, making alliances that sought to turn neighbors against each other and establish borders. Until Henri's great military victory in 1211, however, these alliances were, at best, short-term and unstable. The difference in strategy reflected, primarily, an assessment of the threats posed by the various actors.

Among the minor potentates who asserted power in Asia Minor following 1204, two substantial Greek states emerged at Nicaea and Trebizond. Trebizond's distance from Constantinople prevented it from becoming a serious challenge to the Latin Empire.[182] Nicaea was founded by Theodore Lascaris, the son-in-law of Alexios III and despot of the Byzantine Empire.[183] Under his rule, Nicaea quickly emerged as the most powerful of the new actors in Asia Minor and developed into a threat, or at least a nuisance, to the Franks. The straits provided a natural barrier, but one that was quickly compromised. Soon after 1204, Lascaris reconstituted a Greek fleet and used it in the islands and to conquer coastal towns in Asia Minor. Henri did not have the resources to defeat Lascaris definitively, especially with the Bulgarian threat looming, but he also could not risk a hostile fleet off his shores, a fleet that could someday cut off supplies from Europe and besiege Constantinople.[184] Henri's strategy toward Nicaea was one of containment; if he could keep them to Asia Minor, he could focus on solidifying his European possessions.

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[182] A. A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)," *Speculum* 11, no. 1 (1936): 3-9. Trebizond had the advantages of prominent founders—the grandsons of Andronikos I—and a strong economic foundation.

[183] Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, p. 37. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, pp 67-68. Although Lascaris used his title as despot in order to establish his authority, he based his rule on his efforts on behalf of the populace, not on his kinship with Alexios III.

[184] For the Nicaean fleet during Lascaris's reign and his use of naval power in the islands and the coastal towns, see Hélène Glykatzi Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), pp 303-13. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, pp 196-200.

Geoffroy de Villehardouin's account described the new empire's difficulty in balancing the two fields of war. After his initial successes north and west of Constantinople in 1204, Baudouin I sent men across the straits into Asia Minor where they established Western authority in Cyzicus, Nicomedia, Spiga, and elsewhere.[185] The Bulgarian threat, however, soon necessitated the recall of forces from Asia Minor for a concentrated push at Adrianople.[186] The chronology is murky, but Nicaea and Constantinople appear to have been at peace from the middle of 1205 to November of 1206.[187] Lascaris then violated the treaty and allied with Kalojan for a joint attack against the Latin Empire in the Balkans and Asia Minor.[188] This attack on two fronts created great difficulties for Henri. According to Villehardouin, "the Emperor was quite distracted. His forces on the other side were so widely scattered, and everywhere so heavily engaged that they could do no more than they were already doing, while he himself had only a very small body of troops in Constantinople."[189] Henri repeatedly made plans to withdraw troops from Asia Minor, only to be forced to reengage there by

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[185] See Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 112-22, ch 304-313. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 107-11.

[186] See Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 150-54, ch 340-44. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 116-17.

[187] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 11-12, ch 7. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 119-20, ch 7. Macrides argues that these events pertain to 1205 and 1208, Ibid., "Introduction," pp 83-84. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 51-52, no. 62. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 266, ch 453: "En cel termine Toldres li Ascres, qui tenoit la terre d'autre part del Braz, avoit triues a l'empereor Henri, et ne li ot mie bien tenues, ainz li ot fausees et brisies." Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 163.

[188] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 266-302, ch 453-88. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 146-56**.** Choniates remarked on how the Greek resistence in Thrace forced Latin forces to withdraw from the East. Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, p. 625. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, pp 342-43.

[189] Translation from Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 150. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 276-78, ch 462: "Mult fu destroiz l'empereres, quant il l'oï: que ses genz estoient departies d'oltre le Braz en tant de leus; [et estoient si chargié en chascun leu de la guerre qu'il ne pooient plus] et l'empereres ere en Constantinoble a pou de gent." Phrase in brackets excluded from text by Faral.

Theodore Lascaris's offensive maneuvers.[190] He did not want to commit his limited resources to Asia Minor, but he could not allow Nicaea to rise unchecked. The Franks twice allied with Trebizond, which ensured that polity's continued aggression toward Nicaea.

In the spring of 1207, the combat in Asia Minor ended with a two-year truce, which gave Theodore Lascaris permission to tear down important Latin fortifications but committed him to releasing his Latin prisoners. Theodore Lascaris had made the first overture toward peace and Henri had trepidations about the provisions: He consulted with his barons, who advised that it was essential not to fight on two fronts simultaneously and that relinquishing strongholds in Asia Minor was far better than losing Adrianople.[191] The relief of that important city and the protection of Constantinople from the Bulgarian threat had to be the top priorities. The treaty with Nicaea was ideal since it pacified the Greek threat, allowing the Franks to withdraw troops from Asia Minor, and because the treaty disrupted the disastrous alliance between Bulgaria and Nicaea.

Nicaea's acceptance of the treaty suggests that the Frankish strategy was successful. Treaties with the Latin Empire delayed the Greeks' ultimate goal: the reconquest of Constantinople and the reconstitution of the Byzantine Empire. But Lascaris was faced with challengers in Asia Minor, including the Greek general Manuel Mavrozomes, who enjoyed the support of the Seljuks, and the Trebizond prince, David

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[190] Ibid., II: 274-304, ch 459-89. Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," pp 149-56.

[191] Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 302-4, ch 487-89: "et distrent que il ne pooient les .II. guerres souffrir ensemble et que mielz valoit cil damages assoffrir que la parte d'Andrenople ne de l'autre terre: et si avroient parti lor anemis, Johannis le roi de Blakie et de Bougrie et Toldre l'Ascre, qui estoient ami, qui e'entraidoient de la guerre." Translation in Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 156. For discussion see Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 58-59, no. 73.

Komnenos, who had Frankish support.[192] The Turks, who had been growing in power in Asia Minor for more than a century, also presented a threat to Nicaea, one that Lascaris sought to neutralize with an alliance.[193] Balancing these various threats and still consolidating his own authority, Lascaris seemed to think better of his ambitions to retake Constantinople, at least for the moment.

In 1210, the fragile peace in Asia Minor fell apart. The sultan Kaykhusraw joined with Alexios III against Lascaris and signed a treaty with Henri. This latter agreement is recorded in Henri's letter to the West in 1212: "the Sultan of Iconium, who confirmed his friendship with us by oath and agreed upon aid against that Lascaris."[194] The precise nature of the oath and the aid is not clear. The mere fact of the alliance with a Muslim power against Greek Christians, however, demonstrated the flexibility that came to mark the Latin Empire's relations with her neighbors. Whatever the emperor's prejudices may have been, they did not preclude this potentially useful partnership. As in the case of Henri's agreements with Lascaris, the accord with the

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[192] Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile: Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, pp 12-13. David Komnenos had attacked Nicaea at least twice, probably in 1206 and 1207. Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, pp 626, 640-41. Translation in Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, pp 343, 351.

[193] The Seljuk civil war ended in 1205 with the accession of Kay Khusraw, a Byzantine ally, who entered into a peace treaty with Lascaris for several years. The Turko-Byzantine relationship was not solely marked by conflict and competition. From the end of the twelfth century, we have increasing evidence of trade relationships between Turks and Byzantines and the incorporation of Christians into Turkish communities, including incidences of intermarriage and Christians with Turkish titles. The Greeks in Nicaea confronted a situation governed in part by the civil war among Kilic Arslan II's sons after his death in 1192. Kay Khusraw, who was originally chosen by his father and dispossessed by his brothers, finally regained the sultanate in 1205. In the intervening years, he established a good relationship with the Byzantines. He took refuge in Constantinople during the fraternal conflict, was closely allied with a Byzantine military aristocrat, and turned over a Byzantine rebel to Isaac Angelos. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 303; Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*, trans. J. Jones-Williams (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968), pp 114-17; Speros Jr. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Berkeley: UCLA, 1971), pp 216-44.

[194] Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs," p. 414: "Soldanus Iconii, qui nobiscum amicitiam juramento firmaverat et auxilium contra ipsum Lascarum pepigerat."

Turks was short-lived. In 1210–1211, Nicaean forces defeated the Turks and Kaykhusraw was killed.[195] The Turko-Nicaean treaty was renewed and the preexisting boundaries reinstituted.[196]

Peace with the Turks and the removal of Alexios III as a threat allowed Lascaris to launch a military offensive against Constantinople. This effort was unsuccessful. In October of 1211, the Franks resoundingly defeated the Nicaean forces, despite the numerical superiority of the Greeks.[197] Lascaris turned over three castles in Neocastra, thus creating a buffer zone between Thrace and Bithynia and establishing the frontier between Latin and Greek territory.[198] This agreement may also have included provisions for negotiations with the papacy and an agreement about the safe passage of crusaders through Nicaean territory.[199] Henri's actions after the treaty confirmed his desire for peace, not conquest, in Asia Minor. He did not attempt to rule his new acquisitions for financial benefit. Instead, as in Adrianople, he put a Greek general, Georges Theophilopoulos, in charge and allowed the region to maintain Greek law, customs, and practices. The strategy was effective: Henri spent the remaining years of

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[195] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*, p. 120; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, pp 82-84; Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 14-15.

[196] Cohen suggests that the Seljuks preferred to have a "buffer state" between themselves and the Franks. Frequent invasions and other unwelcome developments on the Seljuks' eastern borders also made action there a priority and peace in the West appealing. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History, c. 1071–1330*, pp 121-22.

[197] Henri bragged about this victory in his letter to the West the following year. Although such a source must be suspect, the terms of the treaty bear out his boast. Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs," pp 414-18.

[198] See summary in Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, pp 84-86.

[199] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 26-28, ch 15. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 148-49, ch 15; pp 52-53, ftnt 13-19. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 90-91, no. 129. See discussion in John S. Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor: The Documentary Evidence for and Hagiographical Lore about John III Ducas Vatatzes' Crusade against the Turks, 1222 or 1225 to 1231* (New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1992), p. 42, ftnt 3 and Longnon, "La campagne de Henri de Hainaut en Asie mineur en 1211," 450-52.

his reign at peace with Lascaris and protected from an attack originating in Asia Minor.[200]

I can find no reference to a marriage alliance, or even the suggestion of one, between the Franks and the various groups in Asia Minor during the turmoil of the years 1206–1212 and after that until Henri's death in 1216. In the cases of the Trebizond Greeks and the Turks, the absence is unsurprising. Trebizond was far from Constantinople and its allegiance was relatively unimportant. The Turks were a far more substantial force, but if Henri considered the Bulgarians barbarous, how much more so were the Turks? Consideration of a marriage with Muslims would have to wait until the next generation of rulers.

In contrast to these two powers, Nicaea, as Epiros, was a dangerous neighbor that provided perfectly reasonable marriage partners for Westerners. Soon after Henri's death, in fact, a marriage united Lascaris with the daughter of Yolande de Courtenay, the new empress. Henri's approach to Nicaea, different from that to Epiros, stemmed from the assessment that the European provinces were more important than Asia Minor. The conclusion his advisers reached at the time of the second Latin-Nicaean treaty supports this interpretation: They should make concessions in Asia Minor in order to ensure the safety of Adrianople. The contemporary narratives of Valenciennes and Villehardouin, men intimately involved in imperial affairs, reinforce this point with their focus on events in Thrace and Greece. Of course, Henri's letter to the West in 1212 claimed that Lascaris was his greatest enemy. This portrayal, however, came in the aftermath of the Franks' victory over Nicaean forces. The rhetorical depiction of

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[200] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 209-10. See Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 28-29, ch 16. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 153, ch 16. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, p. 91, no. 130.

Lascaris as a great rival had the benefit of inflating the importance of Henri's victory over him and does not outweigh the evidence pointing toward the prominence of European concerns.

In 1211, a marriage may simply not have been necessary. Lascaris was more willing to come to agreement with Constantinople and turn his attention elsewhere than his colleagues in Greece and the Balkans were. Nicaea had its eastern border to worry about—soon after the treaty with Henri, Lascaris made a marriage alliance with an Armenian prince.[201] Certainly, if Lascaris had grand plans to attack Constantinople, his defeat in 1211 would have given him pause. Militarily victorious and secure behind a buffer zone, Henri scarcely needed marriage to solidify the peace.

Through alliances, Henri and his barons attempted to reduce their threat to Frankish power. Henri was far from the first ruler of Constantinople to embark on such a strategy. Studying the Byzantine Empire, Catherine Holmes and Jonathan Shepard uncover how the rhetoric about a frontier can either mask or reveal the reality of its functioning. After the seventh century, Byzantine elites responded to the shrinking of the empire by shifting the discussion away from a focus on natural boundaries and toward an emphasis on diplomatic connections. Even after the language of expansion returned in the middle of the tenth century, it did not always accurately reflect the situation on the ground. Forts and relationships with local potentates came to replace sovereignty.[202] In the later tenth century and the eleventh century, the border was still less militarized than it appeared in the rhetoric. Titles and salaries were used as much

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[201] Lascaris set aside his Armenian wife; possible motives are discussed in Gardner. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, pp 87-88.
[202] Jonathan Shepard, "Emperors and Expansionism: From Rome to Middle Byzantium," in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), pp 55-82.

as military force to ensure the security of border regions.[203] Lacking the power of Byzantium, even during its weaker periods, the Latin Empire survived through a collage of peace treaties with its neighbors. Certain, strategic conquests—Adrianople and fortresses in Asia Minor—were placed under the control of friendly Greeks who could more easily secure the loyalty of the population and create, at the least, a buffer zone between the Franks and external threats.

Henri and the West

In Henri's relationships with his neighbors he was able to overcome his Western attitudes and prejudices in order to operate effectively in his new environment, but he did not set them aside. This image of Henri, his attitudes and actions sometimes in direct conflict with each other, is mirrored in his relationships with the West. He did not turn his back on the West. Like Baudouin I, Henri maintained a relationship with Innocent III, but no secular Western ruler. Certain correspondence reveals his continued involvement in Western concerns, but not an overriding one. His primary concern was his new empire and his self-image was located there.

In the immediate aftermath of Baudouin I's capture, "the barons now decided to send and ask for help from Pope Innocent of Rome, from France and Flanders, and from other countries."[204] The choice of Innocent III was to be expected from his role in the Fourth Crusade and Baudouin I's prior correspondence with him. The specific

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[203] Catherine Holmes, "Byzantium's Eastern Frontier in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. David Abulafia and Nora Berend (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), pp 83-104.
[204] Translation from Villehardouin, "The Conquest of Constantinople," p. 129. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, II: 196, ch 388: "Lors pristrent li baron un conseil que il envoieroient a l'apostoile de Rome Innocent et en France et en Flandres et par les autres terres por conquerre secors." The messengers brought relics to the cathedral of Soissons, the abbey of Notre Dame, Saint Jean des Vignes, the abbey of Longpont, Saint Etienne of Châlons, and Saint Aubins of Namur. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, p. 116.

identification of France and Flanders reflected the expectation that the Franks' family, vassals, and lords would be a fruitful source of aid. The barons sought to further exploit these connections with messengers who came from these areas. The three messengers— Névelon, the bishop of Soissons, Jean Bliaud, and Nicolas de Mailly— hailed from the royal domain, Hainaut, and the county of Amiens, respectively.[205] The barons were sensitive to how Western politics might affect the messengers' reception. The representatives covered both sides of the French-Flemish conflict. Névelon had been an ally of Philip Augustus's, while Jean Bliaud appeared in an act of Baudouin in 1200 and was very likely a partisan of the count. In a charter documenting the donation of relics to St Stephen's of Châlons-sur-Marne, Névelon makes reference to his mission "to the lord pope and the kingdom of France."[206] As a bishop and the king's ally in prior conflicts, Névelon was more likely to receive a positive reception in Rome and France than were his fellow messengers. One can imagine that Jean Bliaud was sent to Flanders and Hainaut.[207] These men joined their Western connections to commitments to the new state; all three headed back to the Latin Empire after their mission, although Névelon died en route. Their advocacy was presumably all the more powerful because of their commitment.

The outreach to lay Westerners in the initial aftermath of Baudouin I's capture was not a harbinger of practices in Henri's reign. Henri had only one regular Western correspondent: Innocent III. As his brother had done, Henri wrote to the pope requesting aid, reporting on events in the Latin Empire, and addressing ecclesiastical

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[205] See the entries in Ibid., pp 115-16, 173-74, 199-200.
[206] Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 66.
[207] Jean Longnon speculated that his mission was to try to garner aid from Pierre de Douai. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, p. 173.

appointments and conflicts.[208] Of course, as was the case with Baudouin I, the uneven balance of the documentary record, leaning toward the papacy, could be a result of the nature of recording and preservation, as much as a reflection of the original correspondence. The nature of the occasional other correspondence, however, and its concurrence with the records from Baudouin I's reign, suggests that the surviving record matches, at least in part, the reality.

The only surviving correspondence between the emperor and the king contains confirmation of Baudouin I's death, sent in the second half of 1206. Like Baudouin I's letters concerning Courtrai, this communication pertained to Philip Augustus's role as overlord for the county of Flanders. Similar letters were sent to two of Henri's brothers: Philippe de Namur, the regent for Flanders and Hainaut, and Godfrey, priest of Saint Amatus in Douai.[209] None of these sought financial or military help or advice. The emperor's silence vis-à-vis the French king suggests a disinterest in Western affairs, confirmed by his lack of participation in events in Flanders. At Baudouin I's death, his daughter Joan inherited the county, a change that gave Philip Augustus the opportunity to increase his authority in Flanders. Acting in his role as lord, the French king brought Joan and her sister to his court and arranged their marriages. Henri did not intervene in these matters. Of course, Yolande's marriage to Andrew of Hungary, if indeed it was

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[208] See a letter in 1206 from Henri requesting aid and in 1210 demonstrating Innocent's knowledge of the alliance between Henri and Michael of Epiros. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, p. 45, no. 52. Migne, *PL*, 216: 353-54, no. CLXXXIV. Innocent wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople concerning ecclesiastical property and in 1209 one of his letters revealed that Henri had asked that a certain cleric be named a canon of St Sophia. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 109-10, no. CCX. For other communications see Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 64-66, no. 82-85.

[209] Brial, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XVIII: 527-29. Jacques de Guise, "Annales Hannonienses," in *MGH SS*, ed. E. Sackur, p. 259. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 37-42, no. CLXXVI.

arranged by Henri, shows that he maintained a relationship with his sister and brother-in-law, one strong enough to put him in a position to propose such a marriage to them.

Henri was not more forthcoming with other Westerners. He sent a certain Pierre Gérard to John, king of England, in 1208.[210] Unfortunately, the content of the message has not survived. We only know that John took Pierre under his protection. Henri's letter of 1212 announcing his victories over his enemies and making a bid for further reinforcements, already discussed above, was sent to "all his friends,".[211] The text does not specify who his friends were, or if they included kings or princes. In the same year, Henri sent a letter to the prelates *ultramontanis*, possibly referring to Italy, requesting special aid.[212] No letter specifically to France survives.

These sparse pieces of correspondence create an impression of a distance, possibly increasing over the years, between Henri and his homeland. Other evidence confirms that Henri's allegiance to his European identity diminished during his reign. In the early years, Henri acknowledged, in words and actions, his identity as a Westerner and his devotion to Western institutions and culture. An early letter reporting Baudouin I's death confirmed Henri's affinity with France. The letter refers to "Principes et Barones et totus populus Franciae in Constantinopolitano."[213] Later on in the same letter, Henri identified the patriarch as a member of "populus Venetorum," setting the cleric (and the Venetians in general) apart from the French contingent.[214] In this formulation, Henri imagined the empire as a French enterprise, with the Venetians

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[210] Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica etc.,* (London: A. & J. Churchill, 1704), I: 148. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 63-64, no. 81.
[211] "universis amicis suis." Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs," p. 411.
[212] Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 87-88, no. 124. Philippe Lauer, "Une lettre inédite d'Henri Ier d'Angre, empereur de Constantinople, aux prélats italiens (1213?)," *Mélanges Schlumberger* I (1924): 201.
[213] Brial, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XVIII: 529.
[214] Ibid.: "populo Venetorum."

as an important yet discrete group. Whatever bad feelings might have lingered between him and Philip Augustus, he included himself and the other Flemish nobles in the Latin Empire in the "populus Franciae."

In his use of titles, however, Henri displayed a reorientation to the East that outstripped his brother's. During his short reign, Baudouin used his Flemish titles alongside his new ones: "Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo imperator Constantinopolitanus, a Deo coronatus Romanorum moderator et semper augustus, Flandrie et Haynonie comes."[215] Starting with his correspondence as regent, however, Henri omitted any mention of his Western lands: "imperii Romani moderator."[216] As emperor, Henri styled himself as "Dei gratia, fidelissimus in Christo Imperator a Deo coronatus Romanie moderator et semper augustus."[217] Any prior affiliation with Flemish lands was absent from his self-referencing, if not completely out of his consciousness.

Henri's actions, in particular his shipment of relics and his relationships with ecclesiastical institutions, also revealed a shifting set of affiliations. His record of relic shipments, at least early in his reign, demonstrated his continued devotion to the West. He gave relics to his brother Philippe and sent additional ones to a church in Liesses in the care of Thomas, a monk.[218] He also asked the patriarch of Jerusalem to give relics to the same Thomas, here identified as the abbot of Liesses.[219] In 1209, Innocent III

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[215] Prevenier, *Oorkonden*, p. 592, no. 274.
[216] Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 74.
[217] Prinzing, "Der Brief Kaiset Heinrichs," p. 411. Prinzing discusses the transition from "Romanorum" to "Romanie" in the imperial title and its implications for the territorial understanding of the emperor's authority. Ibid., pp 402-4
[218] Thomas was identified as the brother of Gérard de Walincourt and might have been related to the Matthieu de Walincourt who was on the Fourth Crusade and remained in the Latin Empire. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 46, 66-67, nos. 53, 86, 87. Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 74, no. XXIII.
[219] Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 68-69, no. 90.

confirmed Henri's gift to the abbey of Saint Bavon in Ghent.[220] Through these donations Henri affirmed his connection with his land of origin, at least for several years following his settlement abroad.

He was not the only Frank whose gifts revealed a continued affection for his original home. Nevélon carried relics to his cathedral of Soissons, among other places.[221] Ponce de Chaponay, also known as "de Ludguno," brought relics to Renaud II de Forez, the archbishop of Lyon.[222] The emperor probably took advantage of Ponce's origins by orchestrating an appeal to Renaud or others in Lyon, one made more attractive by a hometown boy with precious relics from Constantinople. This strategy was successful in Lyon or elsewhere: He returned to Greece with money and provisions in the following year.[223]

Although Henri's contributions show a continued attachment to his homeland, his involvement in Eastern ecclesiastical matters confirms the evidence of his titles and correspondence: that he was committed to his new territory. He resolved a conflict with the Latin church in the conquered lands, one that had prompted a number of appeals to Innocent III.[224] He sent relics to Western institutions early on, but he also made donations to a church in Constantinople and restored Greek monks to the monastery of St Marie of Chortaïtis, near Thessaloniki.[225] Henri's language, his correspondence, and his ecclesiastical relationships agree with the portrait compiled from his diplomatic relationships: one of a man who reoriented his life and concerns

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[220] Ibid., pp 80-81, no. 113.
[221] Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 58-61, 65-68.
[222] Ibid., II: 81. See Gallia Christiana, t. 4, for details about Renaud's tenure.
[223] Hendrickx, *Regestes*, p. 66, no. 86. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, p. 219. Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," pp 403-5, ch 666.
[224] Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 77-81, 83-84, 91-92, nos. 109-12, 114, 118-19, 131-32.
[225] Ibid., pp 83, 88-90, nos. 117, 125, 127.

toward the East and, in the process, gradually became more removed from his Western connections, but did not abandon his Western identity. Henri's death, however, in 1216, without a son to inherit his throne, threw the barons of Constantinople back on their origins in France and Flanders for a new emperor and empress. The ties may have been attenuated in Henri's reign, but they were not broken.

CHAPTER 3:

FRENCH NOBLES TO LATIN EMPERORS, 1216–1228

Henri's death in 1216 set in motion a reorientation of the Latin Empire toward France and, more particularly, the French monarchy. With the succession of Henri's brother-in-law and sister, Pierre II and Yolande de Courtenay, the Latin Empire retained its Flemish connections but began to develop strong ties to the French kings and queens.[226] As with that of Baudouin I, Pierre II and Yolande's reigns were too short and the evidence from them is too sparse to permit definitive conclusions about their accommodation to new circumstances. Their careers prior to their succession, however, speak to the concerns of the Constantinopolitan barons in 1216 on the occasion of their choice of a new emperor. This history provides essential background for the close relationship that eventually developed between the Courtenay emperors and the Capetians, a relationship strikingly different from that pursued by the first two emperors. This chapter considers the selection of Pierre II and Yolande, the evidence for Yolande's cultural flexibility during her short reign, and the evolution in imperial identity and strategy under their son Robert. Between Pierre II and Yolande's coronation in 1217 and Robert's death in 1228, the empire moved into the orbit of France and the French monarchy, where it continued, at least, until the mid-1240s.

In the last chapter, I argued that marriages provide a window into the priorities of the crusader settlers in Constantinople and their attitudes, particularly with respect to

[226] Although my general practice is to refer to individuals with the imperial numbers (Baudouin I not Baudouin IX), I have retained Pierre II's comital number. He died before reaching Constantinople and thus the discussion of his life centers on his actions in the West. In particular, this usage eases the distinction between Pierre II and his father, Pierre I de Courtenay.

their non-Latin neighbors. Even more so than a marriage alliance, however, the selection of a new emperor sheds light on these questions. When Henri died, the question of his successor was unresolved. The barons faced a decision over the nature of imperial leadership and which polity the Latin Empire should tie itself to.

Within months of Henri's death, the barons settled on two candidates, Andrew, the king of Hungary, and Pierre II de Courtenay, a French baron. Both men were married to relatives of the emperor and would bring with them certain advantages. An emperor from Hungary would solidify the alliance with a friendly neighbor who adhered to Rome and had military and financial support at hand. An emperor from France would reinforce the connection to that kingdom, a connection rooted in the Fourth Crusaders' origins but not exploited in the early years of the empire. The choice of the latter went a long way toward shaping the Latin Empire's connection to the West and determining its cultural identity.

To a modern observer, Henri's brother, Eustache, appears an obvious choice. He had been a strong presence in the empire from its early years, figuring in important military campaigns.[227] He had married the daughter of Michael Doukas, despot of Epiros, from whom he received lands.[228] Henri's succession after Baudouin I's death created precedent for Eustache's smooth elevation to the throne. Instead, however, the barons quickly decided to seek a new emperor outside of the Latin Empire, looking to France and Hungary.[229] No record survives of the decision-making process, and

[227] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 123-28. Robert Lee Wolff and H. W. Hazard, *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, vol. 2, A History of the Crusades (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp 208-10.
[228] See pp 66-68 above.
[229] The deliberations cannot have been lengthy: Henri died in June 1216 and by January 1217, Honorius had received and responded to a letter from Andrew concerning the offer of the crown to him and to Pierre de Courtenay. Petrus Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III* (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1888), I:

although one can easily explain the other candidates' appeal, there is no evident reason why Eustache did not succeed his brothers as emperor. Wolff has argued, based on Eustache's absence in Flemish sources, that he was illegitimate and, therefore, considered ineligible.[230] Possibly the need for external help was desperate enough to necessitate the aid that would most likely accompany an external candidate. Whatever the reason, Eustache apparently did not resent the turn of events. He was a member of the delegation that offered the crown to Pierre II and Yolande de Courtenay and was present at their coronation outside of Rome.[231] Had he strongly opposed the Courtenay accession, one would not expect to see him facilitating the transition.

This turn abroad to find a ruler fits a pattern established in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, where from the 1120s until the middle of the thirteenth century the repeated failure to produce male heirs resulted in the selection of rulers from the West. Fulk d'Anjou, Guy de Lusignan, Corrado del Monferrato, Henri de Champagne, Jean de Brienne, and Frederick II Hohenstaufen all had origins and careers in the West before coming East and, by original design or later development, marrying into a claim to the throne.[232] These men were attractive to the barons of the crusader kingdom for several reasons. They stood apart from local rivalries and power struggles and had the potential to produce much-needed Western support. When selected from the West to marry an heiress, as in the case of Fulk, Jean, and Frederick, the new rulers were expected to

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291. Theiner, *VMH*, I: 4, no. 5. See Wolff's brief discussion Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 452-54.

[230] Ibid., p. 452.

[231] Eustache was a witness to Pierre and Yolande's confirmation of the partition of the empire, following their coronation. The identification is unmistakable: "Huestatio cognato et fratre nostro." Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 192-93.

[232] For an in-depth analysis of the relations between the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the West, including marriage alliances, see Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187*.

bring with them financial and military assistance. Corrado and Henri, already present in the Holy Land when their marriages were arranged, had displayed military prowess and might reasonably be expected to encourage reinforcements from the West. Only the selection of Guy diverged from this pattern of securing a ruler with a considerable base of military strength, and, perhaps as a result, some contemporaries considered him to be an unwise choice. His selection came in the midst of internal political strife in the kingdom of Jerusalem, a pressing circumstance that did not allow for the delay involved in waiting for a candidate from the West.[233] In general, nonetheless, crusader barons preferred external candidates for the crown of Jerusalem since they offered money, men, and military leadership and were not tainted by local rivalries. Men like these presented similar advantages to the Latin Empire.

By these criteria, both Andrew of Hungary and Pierre II de Courtenay were attractive candidates, albeit for different reasons. Andrew was a friendly neighbor of Constantinople's, with strong Western connections and firm religious allegiance to Rome. His marriage to Henri's niece, Yolande, suggests that the emperor considered Andrew's continued friendship important to Constantinople.[234] He could provide substantial military support, and reinforcements would always be nearby in Hungary. On a strategic level, a close alliance between Hungary and the Latin Empire would allow operations against the Bulgarians on two fronts. There were certain disadvantages to Andrew's candidacy, nonetheless. Although Hungarian kings frequently married into Western dynasties and Andrew himself wed a Franco-Flemish

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[233] Ibid., pp 242-43.
[234] See pp 72-74 above.

aristocrat, he and his nobles were definitively neither French nor Flemish.[235] Andrew's succession presented risks to the Latin Empire and the Frankish nobles. He would likely regard the interests of the kingdom of Hungary higher than those of the Latin Empire and perhaps even rule or, rather, exploit the latter for the benefit of the former. In addition, he could infiltrate the ranks of the Frankish barons with Hungarian nobles who would take over important government positions.[236] The proximity of Hungary to Constantinople made these plausible scenarios.

Andrew's parents-in-law, Pierre II and Yolande de Courtenay, offered a second possibility and the final choice. They were a "power couple" for the Latin Empire, since Henri's sister, Yolande, provided a kinship tie to the previous emperors and Pierre II brought with him a wealth of military experience, a crusading history, and a close relationship with the French king. They also, obviously, had as a son-in-law the king of Hungary, an alliance that might ensure Hungarian support without the danger of Hungarian domination. Pierre II and Yolande's history prior to 1216 is of particular interest here for several reasons. It explains why the barons chose them to become emperor and empress and highlights the barons' attitudes and priorities. In addition, the subsequent connection between the Latin Empire and France was contingent on the relationships formed by the Courtenays in France before their migration. The marriages they arranged for their daughters in France provide a template and basis of comparison for marriages arranged in the Latin Empire. In the Courtenay family, as in France more broadly, marriage was a tool for resolving conflict and strengthening the family's position. These earlier marriages lacked the cultural diversity found in marriages

[235] See p. 71 above for the Hungarian dynasties' marriage patterns.
[236] This possibility has a parallel in the succession of Fulk d'Anjou to throne of Jerusalem.

around Constantinople, but they show how attractive it would have been for the settlers to turn to marriage as a solution to conflicts and a means for consolidating power**.**

Pierre II and Yolande were unusual in their apparent eagerness to leave their European lives for an unknown adventure in the East. Henri died in June of 1216 and ten months later they were crowned outside of Rome before setting out for Constantinople. Once they got word of the offer, they had to decide to go and then make arrangements for their Western lands and their journey East. They did this remarkably quickly, suggesting that they were eager to accept the crown. A study of this couple, who grabbed at what others dismissed or ignored, suggests the grounding of the appeal of the Latin Empire for some, at least, in the West.

In 1216, Pierre II was a former crusader, a prominent figure in northern French politics, a substantial heiress' widower, a Flemish noblewoman's husband, and the French king's cousin and staunch ally. He had inherited Courtenay, south of Paris, from his mother, Élisabeth, and he traced his kinship to the French king through his father, Pierre I, son of Louis VI. His marriage to Agnès of Nevers in 1184 brought with it the titles and lands of Auxerre, Nevers, and Tonnerre. These combined advantages of kinship, property, and title placed him in the elite circles closest to the king. They also ensured his familiarity to the barons of Constantinople.

In his relationship with Philip Augustus, Pierre II maintained a connection that his father had inherited and fostered. Pierre I had remained close to his brother, Louis VII, participating in the Second Crusade and in negotiations for peace with England.[237]

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[237] Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Courtenay*, Preuves, pp 8-9.

In his titles, Pierre I referred to himself as "regis frater," asserting his royal identity.[238] His son continued to cultivate the connection. Charters and narrative sources reveal Pierre II in the king's company.[239] The count witnessed important royal documents, including two dealing with Philip Augustus's separation from his wife and two treaties, one between the French and English kings and the other between Philip Augustus and Thibaud de Champagne.[240] In this last document, Pierre II was listed as a potential hostage for the king if he broke its terms.[241] This agreement and Pierre II's role, settled in 1198 before the Fourth Crusade, would have been familiar to the Champenois contingent in the Latin Empire.[242] Pierre II's marriage to Yolande, the sister of the count of Flanders, added this kin tie to his French ones.

Contemporary chroniclers provide support for the argument that Pierre II and Yolande's connections with the French king and the count of Flanders were essential to the barons' calculations. In announcing Pierre's selection, Baudouin d'Avesnes

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[238] Ibid., Preuves, pp 7-8. Mathieu Maximilien Quantin, *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne* (Auxerre: Perriquet, 1854), I: 222, no. 404**.**

[239] For a 1215 charter in Philip's presence see, for example, AD Yonne, G 1592, fol 58r-v; fol 252r-v (copy) where Pierre acknowledged that he held lands from the bishop of Auxerre. LeBeuf published an almost identical version. Jean Lebeuf, *Memoires concernant l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile d'Auxerre* (Paris: Perriquet et Rouillé, 1743), IV: 77, no. 126. A summary is in Mathieu Maximilien Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle* (Auxerre: Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne Auxerre, 1873), p. 392, no. 750. For Pierre II on crusade and campaign with Philip Augustus, see Guillaume le Breton, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe-Auguste*, ed. H.-F. Delaborde (Paris: Libraire de la société de l'histoire de France, 1885), p. 286. Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," p. 72. For charter evidence of Pierre II's as present in Philip Augustus's company and acting as a witness or guarantor see Alexandre Teulet, ed., *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres* (Paris: Henri Plon, 1866), I: 229a-b. 252a, 272, nos. 620, 716, 741. Pierre II, along with Robert de Courtenay and Hervé de Nevers, was a member of the group of French nobles who wrote in protest to the pope in 1205. Ibid., I: 291b-92a, nos. 762-65.

[240] Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, pp 426-27.

[241] The two versions of the agreements, of Philip Augustus and Thibaut, are preserved in AN, J 198, no. 4 (Philip) and AN, J 199, no. 2 (Theobald). They are published in Auguste Longnon, *Documents relatifs au comté de Champagne et de Brie 1172–1361* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1901), I: 467-68. More recently, in Theodore Evergates, *Littere Baronum: the Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne*, Medieval Academy Books (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp 159-60.

[242] One of Thibaud's witnesses, Guy de Chappes, was on the Fourth Crusade, although he returned to Champagne in 1205. For a biographical sketch of Guy de Chappes see Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp 57-58.

mentioned both relationships: "… count Pierre d'Auxerre, who had as wife the sister of the emperor. He was the fraternal cousin of Philip [Augustus] of France."[243] The continuator of Brother Guillaume de Nangis also referred to Pierre II by referencing both of his prestigious relatives "Pierre de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, relative of Philip, king of France, and brother-in-law of the late emperor Henri."[244] The Byzantines, too, were aware of the kin relationship, suggesting that the Franks considered it important enough to publish the information abroad.[245]

Although Pierre II's membership in Capetian circles was important to the barons, Yolande's origins were more so. Accounts of the couple's coronation emphasize her relationship with Henri. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines described the transition in this way: "[T]he death of the emperor Henri of Constantinople was announced and count Pierre d'Auxerre, his brother-in-law, was elected as emperor."[246] The second continuation of the chronicle of Robert d'Auxerre reads, "Pierre, count of Auxerre, brother-in-law of the dead emperor, a man strong in faith and arms, was elected as emperor."[247] Yolande's significance in the empire following the death of

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[243] Baudoin d'Avesnes, "Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes," p. 505: "conte Pierron d'Aussoire qui avoit à feme la serour l'empereour. Cil quens estoit cousins germains le roi Phelippe de France."
[244] Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Courtenay*, p. 16: "Petrum de Cortenaio Autissiodorensem comitem Philippi regis Franciae consanguineum, et Henrici defuncti imperatoris sororium."
[245] Akropolites spoke of the relationship between Yolande and the two prior Latin emperors in discussing Pierre II's fateful journey east. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 25, ch 14: "ὁ μὲν οὖν ῥηθεὶς Πέτρος γαμβρὸς ὑπῆρχεν ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ τοῦ πρώτως βασιλεύσαντος ἐκ τοῦ Λατίνων μέρους Βαλδουΐνου καὶ τοῦ μετ'αὐτὸν Ἐρῇ, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ αὐτῶν ἀδελφὴ Ἰολεντία." Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 145, ch 14: "The said Peter was brother-in-law, through marriage to the sister of Baldwin, the first on the side of the Latins to rule as emperor, and of Henry [who ruled] after him. Their sister was called Iolanda."
[246] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 905: "nunciatur interea mors imperatoris Henrici Constantinopolitani et eligitur comes Petrus Autisiodorensis in imperatorem, sororius eiusdem."
[247] Ibid., pp 281-82: "Petrus comes Autissiodorensis, defuncti imperatoris sororius, vir fide et armis strenuus, in imperatorem eligitur."

Pierre II affirmed her importance as a relative of the previous emperors'.[248] Although Pierre II's birth and history increased his appeal, he was only a candidate because of his marriage.

Before considering Pierre II and Yolande's actions as rulers, it is worth lingering on a specific aspect of their French careers: the marriages of the Courtenay family. These marriages flesh out a picture of the Courtenays before their accession. Moreover, marriage was an essential tool for Yolande and her children in Constantinople and their Western experience provided the background for their actions in the East. Pierre II's marriages were tightly bound to his relationship with Philip Augustus. His first wife, Agnès, countess of Nevers and heiress to Auxerre, Nevers, and Tonnerre, was under the protection of Philip Augustus when he granted her in marriage to his cousin, in return for Pierre II's concession of Montargis.[249] Agnès's death in 1192/3 left to her husband the task of safeguarding her inheritance for their daughter Mathilde.[250] Pierre II and his daughter were then players in a complex peace arranged between Philip Augustus and the count of Flanders. In order to seal the peace, Pierre II was to marry Yolande, the count's daughter, and Mathilde was to marry Philippe de Namur, the count's son.[251] Pierre II and Yolande's wedding was celebrated soon after the treaty in 1193, but

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[248] See pp 103-13 below.

[249] For a brief discussion, see Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, p. 27. The grant is printed and cataloged in several places, including H.-F. Delaborde et al., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1916), I: 134-35, no. 106. Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, V: 36, no. 107. A possible later confirmation is preserved in Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 2. Philip Augustus's confirmation is in Delaborde et al., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, II: 548-50, no. 453. Léopold Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1856), p. 96, no. 399.

[250] For Agnès's death, see AD Yonne, H 1669 and Lebeuf, *Memoires concernant l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile d'Auxerre*, IV: 60, no. 84; Quantin, *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, II: 447-49, nos. 41-42.

[251] AN J 1040, n 1, published and cataloged in Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, V: 36, no. 107; Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe Auguste*, p. 96, no. 399; A. Wauters, *Table chronologique des chartes et diplômes imprimés concernant l'histoire de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1866), III: 25. For Philip Augustus's confirmation, see Delaborde et al., *Recueil des actes de Philippe Auguste*, II: 548-50, no. 453. For a narrative witness, see Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 899, ll 16-19 (noting Pierre and Yolande's marriage under 1214).

Mathilde's youth delayed her marriage. In the end, deteriorating relations between the king and the count, culminating in a military conflict in which Philippe fought with his brother and was captured by the French king, turned the delay into a cancellation. Mathilde was later married as part of a different reconciliation, that between Pierre II and Hervé de Donzy.[252] It is a sign of the significance of her marriage that Pierre II swore that, if his daughter did not marry Hervé, he would not allow her to marry Philippe de Namur or anyone else without the king's permission.[253] Mathilde was heiress to substantial lands, and Philip Augustus wanted to prevent her inheritance from falling under the control of a possible enemy.[254]

Pierre II and Yolande's marriage failed to achieve its original purpose, the seal of a Franco-Flemish peace, but it united two powerful families, each with an impressive crusading history.[255] Although no witness attests directly to their personal relationship,

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[252] Hervé and Pierre were both violent and aggressive men. In this conflict, Hervé had soundly defeated and captured Pierre**.** The marriage was part of the peace. Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, p. 99. For the agreement and Philip Augustus's confirmation see Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe Auguste*, p. 136, no. 574; Quantin, *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, II: 500-2, nos. 491-92; Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, I: 207, no. 502. Robert d'Auxerre, "Chronicon," p. 259.

[253] Both Pierre II and Yolande made this promise to Philip Augustus in December 1199. Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe Auguste*, p. 136, no. 574; Wauters, *Table chronologique*, III: 119-20. In 1200, Philippe de Namur renounced his claims to Mathilde and ratified the peace treaty between the king and the count of Flanders. Ibid., III: 129. Philippe de Namur eventually married Philip Augustus's daughter. Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, I: 361a-b, no. 952.

[254] Philip Augustus's hand is apparent in later marriages that implicated Mathilde's lands. In 1215 and 1219, Hervé swore that his daughter, named Agnès after her grandmother, would not marry without royal consent. Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, pp 71-2, no. 154. In 1221, Agnès married Guy of Châtillon, the count of Saint-Pol. Lebeuf, *Memoires concernant l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile d'Auxerre*, III: 163; Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, I: 516b, no. 1447. The king used the rich and powerful inheritance of Auxerre and Nevers to further his interests. Hervé and Mathilde's marriage did more than keep the land out of the hands of an adherent of Flanders, it provided Philip with a loyal vassal in Hervé. Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, pp 194, 262, 270-78, 333, 426-27.

[255] For consideration of the crusading traditions, see Krijnie Ciggaar, "Flemish Counts and Emperors: Friends and Foreigners in Byzantium," in *The Latin Empire: Some Contributions*, ed. V. D. van Aalst and K. N. Ciggaar (The Netherlands: A. A. Bredius Foundation, 1990), 33-62; Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187*, 271-81; Elizabeth Siberry, "The Crusading Counts of Nevers," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* XXXIV (1990): 64-71. Pierre II participated in the Third Crusade and the Albigensian Crusade. Lebeuf, *Memoires concernant l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile d'Auxerre*, IV: 58-59, no. 81.

evidence points to their marriage as an alliance of like-minded individuals. They appear in charters together, and in 1199 Yolande affirmed her husband's oath to support Philip Augustus.[256] They were also a fertile couple, being the parents of thirteen children.[257]

Pierre II's roles in the king's struggles with the counts of Champagne and Flanders have already demonstrated his orientation toward northern France and the crown. The marriages and religious vocations of his children confirm the family's focus on French and Flemish affairs. Of Pierre II and Yolande's sons, two, Philippe and Henri, became marquis of Namur, an inheritance from their mother.[258] Their sons Robert and Baudouin II inherited the throne of Constantinople. Of their daughters who married or entered religious institutions before 1217, only the younger Yolande went far afield.[259] The other women married men of substance near to the center of familial power, including the count of Vianden, the son of the count of Bar-sur-Seine, the grandson of the duke of Burgundy, the lord of Castres, and of La Ferté-Alais.[260] Three of their children, Constance, Pierre, and Sybille, entered the church.[261]

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[256] See Pierre's donation for an anniversary for him and Yolande. Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, pp 16, 20, nos. 32, 40. For her confirmation see: Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 3.

[257] Berton, *Courtenay et ses anciens seigneurs: notes historiques*, pp 67-68.

[258] For documents concerning Yolande's inheritance and her transfer of Namur to Philippe, see: Galliot, *Histoire générale*, V: 356, 378-80; Wauters, *Table chronologique*, III: 367, 415, 460. Philippe never married and died during Louis VIII's siege of Avignon. Henri's wife, Élisabeth, is mentioned in several charters, but no children survived. Galliot, *Histoire générale*, V: 399-405, 408-11. Baudouin II inherited Namur in 1237.

[259] See pp 72-74 above. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 906, l 30: "Unam filiarum eius, Hyolenz nomine, duxit Andreas rex Ungarie; secundam, nomine Sibiliam, habuit Radulfus de Eddolduno in Bituria, quam postea duxit comes Henricus de Vienna et Ardenna; tertiam habuit Lascarus Grecus, qui dicebatur imperator Nicee, sed de ista filios non habuit; quartum Gaufridus iunior de Villa Harduini, filius Gaufridi principis de insula Montionis; quintam Galtherus de Barro super Sequanam, comitis Milonis filius, quam postea duxit Odo, Alexandri filius, frater ducis Burgundie Odonis."

[260] Marguérite first married Raoul of Issoudon, in Berry, and then Henri, the count of Vianden. For the acquisition of Issoudon and continued interests there, see Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, pp 21, 26, 97, 298, 342. For Marguérite's marriage to Raoul see Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe Auguste*, p. 459, no. 2071. For her later marriage to Henri see Galliot, *Histoire générale*, V: 417-18; Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 11-12, no. 3604. Élisabeth married Gaucher, the son of the count of Bar-sur-Seine, and then Eudes de Montaigu, the grandson of the duke of Burgundy. See letter

In addition to his close relations with the French king and his involvement in Flemish and French politics, Pierre II could claim military experience, if not always prowess. The count participated in at least two of Philip Augustus's most important military endeavors: the Third Crusade and the Franco-Imperial conflict culminating at Bouvines.[262] Another conflict, that with a neighbor, Hervé de Donzy, ended with Pierre II's capture in 1199.[263] The count also had a long-running quarrel with the bishop of Auxerre.[264] Pierre II might have been, as Wolff and others have accused him, "one of the most turbulent, quarrelsome, and notorious barons in all France," but he had experience in governing, negotiating, and fighting, and he would have been familiar in these roles to the Burgundian, Champenois, and Flemish barons in Constantinople.[265]

Pierre II and Yolande's political affiliations and their children's marriages centered on Flanders and France. Their acceptance of the imperial crown marked a departure from their prior careers, although one perhaps foretold by their daughter's marriage to the king of Hungary. Their reasons for accepting the envoys' proposal are unclear, but several possibilities present themselves. A chronicler in Auxerre suggested

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from Baudouin to Blanche. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 424: "Nobilem mulierem Elisabeth dominam Montis-Acuti, sororem nostram, et Odonem eiusdem castri Dominum virum suum." Éléonore married Philippe de Montfort, lord of Castres and of La Ferté-Alais, south of Paris, also a committed crusader who, after her death, relocated to the Holy Land and became lord of Tyre. Philippe de Montfort took the cross with a collection of important French barons including Robert de Courtenay, his uncle-in-law, and Guy de Forez, the husband of Mathilde de Courtenay. He was also the nephew of John d'Ibelin, lord of Beirut. Wolff and Hazard, *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, 2: 469, 553, 559-60.

261 In 1210, a charter of Pierre II's refers to "clericus P., filius ejus." Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, p. 42, no. 92. The count made a donation in 1210 to the abbey of Fontevrault for his daughter Sybille to enjoy during her life. Ibid., p. 42, no. 93. I cannot find a reference for Constance, but Berton apparently could. Berton, *Courtenay et ses anciens seigneurs: notes historiques*, p. 68.

262 For Pierre on crusade with Philip Augustus see Rigord, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," pp 83-84, ch 56. For Pierre at Soissons and Bouvines see Breton, "Gesta Philippi Augusti," p. 286, ch 194. The last also records that Pierre's son, Philippe of Namur, was among the forces opposing the king at Bouvines.

263 Berton, *Courtenay et ses anciens seigneurs: notes historiques*, pp 47-48.

264 Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration: The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1979), pp 129-31.

265 Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 456.

that Yolande was the driving force, urging her husband to accept the crown.[266] Family feeling and pride in her brothers' accomplishments as crusaders and emperors may have inclined her to take over their empire. Moreover, Pierre II was likely dissatisfied with his situation in France. His most important territories were the inheritance of his daughter's from her mother. At Mathilde's marriage to Hervé, the newlyweds received Nevers and Pierre II was granted Auxerre and Tonnerre until his death, at which point they would pass to Mathilde.[267] He was a prosperous man but could scarcely have rejected out of hand the challenge of a new realm to pass on to his sons. Finally, Pierre II's career suggests an affinity for violence and conflict, and his personal inclination led him to seek out new adventures and battles.

Pierre II and Yolande's new commitment did not precipitate a complete break from their earlier lives. In provisions for departure, they made fairly typical donations to local monastic institutions.[268] Pierre II retained the lordship of his territories, including those destined for Mathilde, but he ceded Auxerre to its burgesses for a period of six years in exchange for money to fund his expedition.[269] The temporary nature of the grant suggests his concern for the future, that he kept his possessions as insurance if the relocation to Constantinople failed. Even if he remained in the East, he could use future income from his Western lands to support his new Eastern enterprise. Crusaders

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[266] "Historia episcoporum autissiodorensium," in *RHGF* (Paris: V. Palme, 1879), p. 728: "instigante uxore."
[267] Lebeuf, *Memoires concernant l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile d'Auxerre*, III: 133-24. For the letter of Hervé de Donzy's confirming the arrangement and announcing the approval of Philip Augustus see Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, I: 206-7, no. 502.
[268] These included donations to Pontigny (AD Yonne, H 1399, p 483, French summ) and to Andresy and Saint Germain (Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, pp 84-85, nos. 181-88.)
[269] Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (Lutetiae Parisiorum: Sumptibus F. Delaulne, 1717), I: col 846. Robert d'Auxerre, "Chronicon," p. 282. For a discussion see Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 458.

had long used their lands to support crusading ventures. Baudouin I had set a precedent for charging Western lands to support the Latin Empire in particular, one that would be continued by his nephew, Baudouin II. There can be little doubt about the temporary nature of Pierre II's grant. In 1220, when rumors of Pierre II's death had been heard but not confirmed, Hervé attempted to take control of Auxerre. Honorius III intervened, insisting that Hervé relinquish his claim and asking the king to compel his compliance.[270] It was not until the end of 1221, four years after Pierre II's capture, that Honorius III acknowledged Mathilde's right to control the city, thus severing the ties between Auxerre and the Latin Empire.[271] Likewise, Pierre II and Yolande's eldest son, Philippe of Namur, did not swear fidelity to Philip Augustus with respect to Courtenay until 1223.[272]

The Courtenays in Constantinople

Yolande was not merely a conduit of imperial legitimacy. Her role in the new empire surpassed and superceded her husband's. Outside of Rome, in the spring of 1217, the pope crowned *both*: "Pope Honorius III consecrated Pierre count of Auxerre as emperor of Constantinople and Yolande, his wife, as empress."[273] They confirmed the partition of the empire, opening with: "[W]e, Pierre, by the grace of God most loyal in Christ, crowned by God emperor of Constantinople, moderator of Rome, and always

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270 Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne* (Impr. Dijon: Darantiere, 1885), vol. 3, part 4, pp 184-85, nos. 1620 and 1631. Bouchard discusses this conflict in the context of William of Seigneley, the bishop of Auxerre whom Pierre placed in charge of Auxerre during his absence. Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration: The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre*, p. 132.

271 Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, p. 118, no. 270: "accepimus, quod cum certe de obitu clare memorie Petri, imperatoris Constantinopolitani, civitatem Autissiod." See Berton, *Courtenay et ses anciens seigneurs: notes historiques*, pp 58-60.

272 Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 20. Du Bouchet mistakenly dates the charter to 1232. Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Courtenay*, Preuves, p. 17.

273 Robert d'Auxerre, "Chronicon," p 281-82: "Honorius papa III consecrat Petrum comitem Autissiodorensem in imperatorem Constantinopolitanum et Yolandem, uxorem eius, in imperatricem dominica qua cantatur *Misericordia Domini* in monasterio Sancti Laurentii extra muros."

augustus and we, Yolande, his wife, by the grace of God empress."[274] After their coronation, Pierre II headed for Constantinople by an overland route, intending to confront the ruler of Epiros, Theodore Doukas, who had come to power in 1215 after the murder of his brother, Michael Doukas. Theodore Doukas was no more reliable than was his brother.[275] After Pierre II unsuccessfully attacked Durazzo, Theodore Doukas promised him safe passage through Epirote land, a promise that he broke in a spectacular fashion by attacking and capturing the new emperor, who eventually died in custody.[276]

Yolande also proceeded to Constantinople, but she went by sea with her two daughters, Agnès and Marie, and she arrived safely. She did not long outlive her husband, but contemporary chronicles and documents confirm that she ruled in Constantinople as empress. As Aubri de Trois-Fontaines put it, "[T]he wife of Pierre escaped with her daughters, and as long as she lived, she ruled the land and empire."[277] A letter of the Venetian podestà to the doge, written after Yolande's death, clarified her position. The podestà described various recent events, dwelling in particular on the conflict over church property.[278] What is relevant here is the clear indication that Yolande ruled in her own right, not merely as regent for an absent son or husband.

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[274] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 194, no. CCIL: "nos Petrus, Dei gratia fidelissimus in Christo Constantinopolitanus Imperator a Deo coronatus, Romanie moderator et semper augustus; et nos Yolens, eius uxor, eadem gratia Imperatrix."
[275] See pp 68-70 above
[276] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 152-57; Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 51-53; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 464-67.
[277] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 906: "evasit tamen cum filiabus uxor eiusdem Petri, que quamdiu vixit terram illam et imperium gubernavit."
[278] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, pp 215-21, no. CCLVII. This problem had been plaguing the Latin Empire and the patriarchate for several years. Honorius had attempted to place the disposition of this question on hold after Henri's death, but when the papal legate John Colonna arrived in Constantinople in 1218, he was assigned to resolve the issue. An involved and difficult negotiation followed, some details of which were reported by the podestà to the pope. These matters do not directly concern us here and have been discussed by Wolff. Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261".

According to the podestà, the barons swore to "the lady Empress and her heirs" that they would accept "for lord and emperor Philippe, son of the Empress."[279] As Henri's sister, Yolande was the heir to the throne, and the barons' oaths were taken to her. Honorius III likewise referred to her as the empress of Constantinople in several letters, with no suggestion that she held the throne as regent for an absent husband, son, or brother.[280]

Being brief, Yolande's tenure as empress is poorly documented. Some information comes from papal letters, all of which confirm the portrayal of her rule in the podestà's letter. Honorius III responded to her request concerning an episcopal appointment and in a letter to the legate listed her at the head of those who unjustly detained property of the chapter of the Holy Apostles.[281] She was the recipient of papal assurance that only the pope or his legates could pronounce a sentence of excommunication on her or place her land or churches under interdict.[282] By October 1219, she was dead and Conon of Béthune, the regent, was confirming, once again, the division of the empire.[283]

The limited documentation makes it impossible to know whether she shared her brothers' enmity for the French king or her husband's loyalty to him. No record survives of correspondence between her and Philip Augustus, but our general ignorance about her tenure makes an argument from silence even more suspect than usual. Her behavior prior to 1217 suggests that she shared her husband's affiliations; in France,

[279] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, p. 220, no. CCLVII: "dominae Imperatrici et suis heredibus" and "pro domino et Imperatore Philippum, filium eiusdem dominae Imperatricis." The succession following Yolande's death will be discussed presently.
[280] See his letter to "imperatrici Constantinopolitane illustri" protecting her from excommunication laid by anyone other than the pope. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, p. 352, no. 2128.
[281] Ibid., pp 154 and 237, nos. 912 and 1434.
[282] Ibid., p. 352, no. 2128.
[283] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, pp 214-15, no. CCLVI.

they frequently acted in concert, including her confirmation of Pierre II's oath of loyalty to Philip Augustus.[284] Her sons' imperial reigns offer more information and do, in fact, show the growth of a relationship between the Courtenay emperors and the Capetian kings.

Some of our strongest evidence for Yolande's attitudes and practices come from the marriages of her daughters, Agnès and Marie. They accompanied Yolande and were likely included in the party in order to establish marriage alliances with Constantinople's neighbors. Just as Bonifacio's daughter and, probably, Henri's daughter had been summoned from the West, so were Agnès and Marie brought from France in order to serve the political needs of the Latin Empire. Yet, in arranging marriages, Yolande demonstrated different priorities than did her brothers. She chose as husbands for her daughters two rulers with whom the Latin Empire did not yet have a connection by marriage: Geoffroy II de Villehardouin, prince of the Morea, and Theodore Lascaris, emperor of Nicaea. In doing so, the new empress solidified one alliance and neutralized an enemy. Their marriages fit with those of Pierre II's other daughters, intended to further the family's prestige and strengthen its position, primarily with its neighbors. After their coronation, Pierre II and Yolande had new neighbors with whom to make alliances.

Agnès's marriage was arranged first. En route to Constantinople, Yolande and her companions stopped in Greece where Agnès married Geoffroy II, son of Geoffroy I de Villehardouin, prince of the Morea, and grandnephew of Geoffroy, the marshal of Champagne and chronicler of the Fourth Crusade. Their marriage was of long duration,

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[284] For her confirmation of Pierre's oath see Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 3. Pierre and Yolande made several joint donations. Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 1; AD Yonne, H 1476; Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, pp 42, 84, nos. 93, 187.

although it did not produce any known children.[285] The Villehardouin were an unsurprising ally for Constantinople. In 1217, political and feudal ties, a common French origin, and shared enemies already bound the Villehardouin to Constantinople. Geoffroy I and Geoffroy the Chronicler had been on the Fourth Crusade and settled in the East. Geoffroy I was a leader in the conquest of southern Greece and, after the death of Guillaume de Champlitte, became prince of the Morea. At the Parliament of Ravennika in 1209, Geoffroy recognized Henri as his overlord and the emperor confirmed him in his lands and his position as seneschal of the Latin Empire.[286] The marriage of Geoffroy II and Agnès eight years later solidified this beneficial relationship. The connection proved to be durable. The Villehardouin princes supported the emperors on several occasions, including providing a cash subsidy to Jean de Brienne and sending a naval fleet to relieve Constantinople in 1236.[287]

It is difficult to evaluate to what extent the marriage between Agnès and Geoffroy II was necessary for maintaining the close relationship between the emperors and the Villehardouin princes. Perhaps the other ties would have been sufficient. Wolff certainly thought so, arguing that it was the oath that bound Geoffroy I to Henri at Ravennika that brought Geoffroy II to the rescue of Constantinople.[288] The fourteenth-

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[285] The *Chronique d'Ernoul* provides an account of this marriage. *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, p. 392. Geoffroy died in 1246. In 1247, while at Namur, Baudouin referred to his sister Agnès, wife of the prince of Achaia, as one of his possible heirs. She was probably, then, still alive in or around 1247. AN, J 509, n. 2, published in Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 11-12, no. 3604.

[286] Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," p. 406, ch 669-70: "Et là devint Joffrois hom l'empereour Henri, et li empereres li acrut son fief de le senescaucie de Romenie; et il en baisa l'empereour en foi."

[287] John S. Langdon, "The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault and the Siege of Constantinople 1235–1236, and the Breakup of the entente cordiale between John III Ducas Vatatzes and John Asen II in 1236 as Background to the Genesis of the Hohenstaufen-Vatatzes Alliance of 1242," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Speros Vryonis, Byzantina kai Metabyzantina (Malibu: UNdena Publications, 1985), pp 116-18.

[288] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 555. See pp 162-64 below for a consideration of Geoffroy II's aid to Constantinople.

century *Chronicle of the Morea*, however, suggests that contemporaries perceived the Courtenay-Villehardouin marriage connection as central to their relationship.[289] Under no circumstances should the section of the *Chronicle* on the marriage be used uncritically to ascertain facts. At many points, it is verifiably inaccurate, but as a work of creative imagination it explores the value of marriage to Western and Eastern powers respectively. Moreover, it captures the mentality of the actors well—or seems to. According to the *Chronicle*, Robert, the emperor of Constantinople, sent his daughter to Spain to marry the king of Aragon and, therefore, as the *Chronicle* explicitly states, to receive troops and assistance from him. On the way, the ships stopped in Greece, and there Agnès was persuaded to marry Geoffroy. This marriage, understandably, angered Robert, but his barons convinced him to accept it, a story that resonates with the role of Henri's barons in the matter of the Bulgarian alliances.[290] Both the proposed marriage with the king of Aragon and the actual one with Geoffroy had provisions attached ensuring support for the Latin Empire when needed. But the barons agreed that "this relationship by marriage [with Geoffroy de Villehardouin] was more advantageous than the one with the king of Aragon, who was so far away."[291] By the fourteenth century, the settlers had learned that Western promises of assistance were usually empty. They projected back on the early thirteenth century a preference for alliances with friendly

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[289] Longnon, *Livre de la conqueste*, pp 62-66, ch 177-86. Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea. To Chronikon tou Moreos*, pp 166-74. A translation is available in Harold Lurier, trans., *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of the Morea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp 144-46.
[290] See p. 63 above.
[291] Translation from Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of the Morea*, p. 146. The French version reads: "Et li baron qui moult estoient sages, si debatirent la chose en maintes manieres. Si se acorderent tout a une voulenté et dirent a l'empereor que ceste chose estoit bien avenans et que Dieux proprement l'avoit ordiné et destiné, pour quoy ces .ij. seignors feussent une chose pour aidier et secourre l'un l'autre, et deffendre leurs pays contre leurs anemis et de conquester sure aux." Longnon, *Livre de la conqueste*, p. 64, ch 183. The Greek account includes the following: "ἐπεὶ ἦτο ἐπιδεξιώτερον αὐτὴ ἡ συμπεθερία, / παρὰ εἰς τὸν ῥῆγαν ντὲ Ραγγιοῦν ὅπου ἔνι οὕτως μακρέα." Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea. To Chronikon tou Moreos*, p. 172.

neighbors over ones with distant Westerners. In the *Chronicle*, the barons argued for Geoffroy's greater reliability, noting that Constantinople and the Morea had a shared enemy in the Greeks and that Geoffroy had agreed to bind himself to Robert as his vassal. The *Chronicle* places tremendous weight on the marriage. It attributes the lord-vassal relationship between Constantinople and the Morea to the marriage, when in fact the political connection was formed at the Parliament of Ravennika in 1209.[292] For the fourteenth-century historian, the marriage was the initial and primary connection. Even if the anonymous author exaggerated its significance, his focus suggests that the marriage was understood as foundational in the Courtenay-Villehardouin alliance.[293]

Agnès's marriage was designed to further the interests of the new empire, but her spouse was still a French aristocrat, in family background, religion, and culture similar to someone she might have married in France. The same cannot be said for Marie's husband, Theodore Lascaris, the Greek imperial claimant based in Nicaea, who was in language, religion, and culture a foreigner.[294] Henri had cited him as the Latin Empire's "first and greatest" enemy but had established peace with him without simultaneously concluding a marriage alliance.[295] Yolande remedied this upon her arrival in Constantinople. The alliance had evident advantages for both sides. For the Latin Empire, it ensured continued peace in Asia Minor while Yolande established herself and her rule in Constantinople. Along with the change in power in Bulgaria and

[292] Henri de Valenciennes, "Histoire de l'empereur Henri," p. 406, ch 669-70.
[293] See pp 163-64 below for a discussion of Wolff's dismissal of the marriage in creating a lasting bond between the Villehardouin and the Courtenay.
[294] For Greek reference for their marriage see Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 24-26, 30-31, ch 14, 18. Translated in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 145, 157, ch 14, 18.
[295] See pp 77-82 above.

Theodore's focus on Thessaloniki, the new alliance also ensured the capital a break from external threats.

This marriage encouraged Lascaris to direct his attempts to regain Constantinople into diplomatic veins instead of, or sometimes in addition to, military ones.[296] In becoming Pierre II and Yolande's son-in-law, he added to the heft of his claims the throne, particularly as assessed in the Byzantine tradition. After marrying Marie, he was the widower and husband, respectively, of two potential heiresses to the imperial throne: a Byzantine one and a Latin one. Yolande's own succession and rule affirmed the possibility of female inheritance. Two other developments following the marriage support the conclusion that Lascaris sought Constantinople through marriage and diplomacy: an agreement between Lascaris and the podestà and a proposal for a council to consider reunion between the Greek and Latin churches.[297]

In August of 1219, before Yolande's death, Lascaris entered into a five-year agreement with the podestà. This was apparently a renewal of agreements in 1214.[298] He promised to protect the men and goods of Venice within his land and granted them the right to trade without being subject to tolls or other exactions. Nicaean merchants

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[296] See Langdon's evaluation: "If Theodore I Lascaris, with his Constantinopolitan roots and marriage connections to the imperial Angeli, sought after 1211 to achieve this end through dynastic maneuvering and *détente* with the Latin officials of Romania (namely, the feudal dynasty of Hainaut and Courtenay, the Venetian merchant oligarchy, and the Roman church), his successor John III Ducas Vatatzes, the scion of Thracian δυνατοι and the inheritor of a proud military tradition, eschewed diplomatic wrangling and negotiation with the hated Latin interlopers in the *oecumene* in favor of a more direct military solution to his life's ambition of the *restitutio orbis.*" Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor*, p. 5.

[297] Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, pp 95-113. See the letter of the Greeks: Johanne Baptista Cotelerio, *Ecclesiae graecae monumenta* (Paris: Luteciae parisiorum, 1677), III: 495-520.

[298] There is a reference in the treaty to "nuper transacte treuge." Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 207, no. CCLII. Wolff suggests that the previous agreements might have been completed at the time of Lascaris's marriage to Marie. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 474. Jacoby, whose opinion on matters of the Venetians in the Latin Empire is expert**,** locates them in 1214. David Jacoby, "The Economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261," in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and Its Consequences = La IVe Croisade et conséquences*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, Réalités byzantines (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), pp 206-7.

could likewise trade in Constantinople and Venetian territories, but they were not exempt from duties. Provisions were made for the treatment of shipwrecks, inheritance, coinage, and Venetian mercenaries. Most surprisingly, Lascaris promised not to sail a fleet through the Hellespont to Constantinople without Venetian consent. This clause provided protection to Constantinople against a naval attack. Lascaris also recognized the Venetian right to land in the empire, calling the potestà "domini altissimi Ducis Venecie Potestate Venetorum in Romania et Despote Imperij Romanie et quarte partis et dimidie eius Imperij uice sui dominatore."[299]

In 1219/1220, the Nicaean patriarch called for a synod of the four Eastern patriarchs at which they would prepare to send an envoy to the papacy "with a view to eliminating scandals, to giving peace to the Churches and to bringing all Christians for the future to one mind."[300] Church union would put Lascaris in a much stronger position with regard to the crusader settlers in Constantinople. Both Innocent III's joyous response to the fall of Constantinople and his later condemnation of the emperor and barons were based on a desire for church union. If the Nicaean church returned to communion with Rome, it would remove the pillar of justification for the Western occupation of Constantinople and, in a succession crisis, make it much more likely that the barons would incline toward Lascaris or perhaps his children. The synod never

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[299] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 205-6, no. CCLII.
[300] For announcements of the synod and its purpose see V. Laurent, *Les regestes des Actes du Partriarchat de Constantinople, Fasc. IV (Les regestes de 1208 á 1309)* (Paris, 1971), I, fasc. IV: 29-30, nos. 1222-24. I relied for details and the translation on Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1979), pp 49-50. See also: F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (Münich, 1932), III: 7, no. 1704**.**

occurred because of the ensuing schism between the Nicaean and Epirote churches, an issue not directly of concern here.[301]

These events—the marriage and its accompanying truce, the gesture toward church union, and the agreement with the podestà—reveal a "wait and see" attitude on the part of Lascaris. As Lascaris's wife, Marie probably encouraged this approach. Mouskès credited her with being "saçans et aspre," and she may have used those attributes to influence her husband.[302] His willingness to negotiate, however, should not be mistaken for an abandonment of his designs on Constantinople. Although his agreement with the podestà reflects a policy of reconciliation, its language reveals that Lascaris had not lost sight of his ultimate goal. The text grants Lascaris imperial titles: "Teodorus, in Christo Deo fidelis Imperator et moderator Romeorum et semper augustus, Comnanus Lascarus." It repeatedly uses the phrase "mei Imperij" and even "terrarum Imperij mei in Constantinopli."[303]

He also did not renounce the use of military force against the Franks. During the interregnum following Yolande's death, he was also engaged in military action. According to Mouskès, when Robert de Courtenay was crowned emperor, "the barons were in the east against Lascaris, who in the spring after the death of [Robert's] mother

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[301] There are numerous modern accounts of the ecclesiastical relations between Nicaea and Epiros/Thessaloniki, see, for example: Francois Bredenkamp, *The Byzantine Empire of Thessaloniki (1224–1242)* (Thessaloniki: Thessaloniki Municipal History Centre, 1996), pp 99-102, 133-41, 208-17; Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, pp 112-13, 125-35; Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400*, pp 49-50; Apostolos Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217–1233)* (Thessaloniki: Kentron Byzantinon Ereunon, 1973); Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 76-78; D. M. Nicol, "Ecclesiastical Relations between the Despotate of Epiros and the Kingdom of Nicaea," *Byzantion* XXII (1952): 207-228.
[302] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, p. 160. "La tierce fu saçans et aspre; Cele si fu donnee a Lascre, Un haut prince de la Turkïe, Qui frant tiere ot en sa bailli." Philippe Mouskès, *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskès*, Collection de Chroniques Belges inédits (Brussels, 1838), II: 765, ll 23009-12.
[303] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 205-7, no. CCLII.

sought to take the empire by force."[304] Lascaris's abrupt turn to military action was likely a direct result of the barons' choice of Robert and of the information that the new emperor was proceeding to the East. The barons' decision to turn again to the West and overlook Lascaris's claim to the throne undoubtedly angered the Nicaean emperor, whose marriage had raised hopes that the Franks would not meet. Nevertheless, despite his disappointment and the renewal of military conflict, Lascaris did not become an intractable enemy. As we will see, he unsuccessfully sought to renew the marriage tie with an engagement between Robert and his own daughter Eudokia.

A contemporary confirmation that the marriages of the Latin Empire were arranged with peace and aid in mind comes from Baudouin d'Avesnes. He explicity acknowledged the purpose behind the marriages, to strengthen the position of the empire, although he was mistaken about the details.[305] He described the outcome in simple words: "By these marriages he acquired great peace and great aid."[306] These marriages, part of the complex web of alliances surrounding Constantinople, as well as with Yolande's actions more generally, demonstrate that, whatever provisions Pierre II and Yolande made for their lands in the West, the empress viewed her relocation to the East as *permanent*. Further, she displayed, in a short period of time, a willingness to conform to Frankish expectations. Besides marrying her daughters to neighbors, including a non-Latin, she gave her youngest son, who was born in Constantinople, the same name as her brother, the first Latin emperor. Upon her death, however, it was not

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[304] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 405, ll 23083-87: "si baron ièrent en l'ost / Contre Lascare, qui lues tantost / Qu'il sot la mort sa mère en voir, / Vot l'empire par force avoir ."
[305] Among other mistakes, he stated that one of Pierre II and Yolande's daughters married "Johennis le roi de Balquie." Baudoin d'Avesnes, "Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes," p. 505.
[306] Ibid.: "Par ces mariaiges aquist il grant pais et grant aide."

this boy, Baudouin II, who inherited. Instead the barons again turned to the West for a new emperor.

The Interregnum and the Selection of Robert

Two years passed between Yolande's death and the arrival of her son Robert, the new emperor. For a large part of the period between 1216 and 1221, then, the barons and Venetians ran the empire in the absence of a resident emperor or empress. Wolff suggested that this situation necessarily created great weakness: "[S]o great had been Henry's achievements that his enemies did not yet realize the vulnerability of the Latin Empire without him."[307] The absence of an emperor, however, does not necessarily indicate a lower quality or intensity of governance. If contemporary portrayals of Robert are to be believed, Constantinople was more secure under its regents with an empress than under its new emperor.[308] From the initial conquest of Byzantine lands, the barons played a substantial role in the governance and defense of the empire.[309] Conon de Béthune, the first regent after Yolande's death, had far more experience in the East than did either Yolande or Robert, including a previous stint as regent after Henri's death.[310] In a polity where the loyalty of the populace was more a matter of practicality than of sentiment, the absence of a crowned emperor may not have had a significant impact. Henri, the most popular emperor among his Greek

[307] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 481.
[308] See, for example, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 910, ll 41-43.
[309] Along with Venetian advisers, they formed a council that assisted the emperor, decided when to call the knights to fight in campaigns, and had jurisdiction over relations between the emperors and the nobles. Longnon, *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffrey de Villehardouin*, pp 191-92, no. 74.
[310] For Conon de Béthune's earlier position as regent, see Honorius's introduction of his legate in Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, p. 92, no. 526. For his stint after Yolande's death, see his own confirmation of Venetian privileges in Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, pp 214-25, no. CCLVI. Conon was on the Fourth Crusade and was an important baron in the new empire. He was a member of delegations for several diplomatic initiatives. The choice of papal legate to replace Anseau may have been less fortunate from a military standpoint. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp 146-49.

subjects, was so because of his treatment of the Greek church and populace, not because they felt an inherited loyalty to or affinity with him as their ruler.[311] The barons' assertiveness, already noticeable under Henri's rule, increased during the interregna and Robert's reign. Their prominence in all matters of statecraft became one of the central features of the Latin Empire, a development that set this state apart from many of its European contemporaries but paralleled developments in other crusader states.

Robert was not the first choice to succeed his mother on the imperial throne. The same letter in which the podestà described the conflict over church property also mentioned the question of Yolande's successor. The barons swore to accept "pro domino et Imperatore Philippum, filium eiusdem dominae Imperatricis" and they anticipated his arrival by the feast of the nativity of John the Baptist, the 24th of June 1220.[312] They were mistaken. Philippe did not come East, choosing instead to remain in Namur. No source speaks to his reasons for refusing the offer of the crown. His prominent position in the West and his involvement in Flemish politics probably made him reluctant to abandon his Western life for an unknown future in the East. The barons, at Philippe's direction, turned toward his younger brother Robert, who accepted their offer and traveled to Constantinople via Hungary.[313] The barons' expectation of a

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[311] See Akropolites' account of Henri. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 26, ch 15. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 153, ch 15**.**

[312] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 220, no. CCLVII.

[313] Mouskès, Ernoul and Baudouin d'Avesnes all give essentially the same details. *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, p. 393: "Quant li emperis fu morte, li chevalier de le tiere manderent le conte de Namur qui fiex estoit l'emperis, qu'il alast en Costantinoble, que li tiere li estoit eskeue. Quant li mesages vinrent à lui et il orent conté lor message, il dist qu'il s'en conselleroir. I s'en consella, mais [consaus] ne li aporta mie qu'il i alast; ains i envoia Robert sen frere, qui maisnés estoit de lui, et si lor manda qu'il le coronassent, qu'il n'i pooit aler et qu'il n'iroient noient." Baudouin d'Avesnes related Robert's journey through Hungary. Baudoin d'Avesnes, "Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes," p. 506: "Cil s'en ala par Hongrie, où il fut receus à grant honour de sa serour, qui estoit roine de la terre, et dou roi Andrieu. Il sejourna tout l'yver en Hongrie, car il n'avoit mie bien les passaiges à sa volunte." Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 404, ll 23041-23053: "Son fil mandèrent Felippon, / Et il en a dounet le don / Robiert, son frère, par consel, / Ne faire n'en vot aparel. / Robiers, ses frères, s'atorna, / Viers Hungrie

resident emperor by June proved overly optimistic; Robert did not appear in Constantinople until March of 1221 when he swore to respect the conventions already made with the Venetians, particularly the division of the empire, as his predecessors had done and his successors would do.[314]

Robert's succession is generally considered to have been a disaster for the empire. During his reign, the Franks lost Thessaloniki and Adrianople, along with their possessions in Asia Minor. His selection was due entirely to his status as Pierre II and Yolande's son and not to any particular strengths or skills. In fact, his character was deplored. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, for example, dismissed him as "quasi rudis et idiota."[315] Little is known about his life before his arrival in Constantinople, other than his capture while fighting for Philip Augustus in the conflict with Flanders.[316] In the several years since Pierre II's departure, the Courtenays in France had retained their intimacy with the Capetians. In particular, Robert's uncle, also named Robert, and his elder half-sister Mathilde, were prominent in royal politics. The barons did not select Robert, however, for his loyalty to the crown. Their first choice, Philippe, marquis de Namur, had opposed the king and his own father at Bouvines, but he had military and administrative experience that would have served the empire well.[317] Their quick turn to Robert reveals that their primary requirement was the issue of legitimate succession; that Robert was partial to France not Flanders and apparently bereft of talents probably

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s'acemina. / Venus i est à serour, / Moult le reciut à grant ounor / Li rois Andrius, si fist sa suer, / Et s'ot tout leur avoir à fuer. / Tout l'ivier furent à plenté, / Mais ne porent à volenté / Passer par la tière sauvage."

314 Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 901. ll 41-43. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 227-30, no. CCLX.

315 Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 910.

316 Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, I: 73-74. Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 410, v 23221-21, 23233-34.

317 Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 485.

never came up. The concerns that motivated the baronial selection of Pierre and Yolande and, later, Jean de Brienne were passed over in favor of the principle of primogeniture.

Philippe's refusal to come East had serious implications for the future of the Latin Empire. Had he become emperor in Constantinople, he might have continued Baudouin I and Henri's stance toward the West, including their coolness toward the Capetians. Instead, the Franks received an emperor oriented toward France, a preference that would endure for several decades. The first direct appeals to the French kings survive from Robert's reign, and these appeals would become thereafter a prominent feature of diplomacy of the Latin Empire.

Robert in Constantinople

For better or for worse, Robert arrived in Constantinople in 1221. Five years had passed since Henri's death. Developments in Asia Minor and relations with Nicaea have already been addressed.[318] On the European side of the small empire, Epiros and Bulgaria had suffered from dynastic transition in the 1210s. Theodore Doukas focused his attention on retaking Thessaloniki and making gains against the Bulgarians, although he took the time to capture Pierre II.[319] By 1222, with the aid of alliances with the Albanians, the Serbians, and Slav, Henri's former brother-in-law, Theodore Doukas had conquered northern Greece, including parts of Bulgaria, putting him in an excellent position to launch an attack on Thessaloniki.

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[318] See pp 110-17 above.
[319] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 57-61.

In Bulgaria, after years in exile, Asen overthrew his cousin Boril, defeated his other rivals, and was crowned ruler of Bulgaria in 1218.[320] He acted quickly to establish himself and make allies in the region, in part by weaving his family into the web of marriage alliances. The same year that Asen took power, Andrew of Hungary, returning from crusade, stood at the Bulgarian border requesting safe passage. Asen took advantage of the situation, expressing his willingness to aid Andrew, if the king would agree to a marriage between Asen and Andrew's daughter.[321] In making the arrangement, Asen recognized Andrew's strength, his danger as an enemy, and his potential as an ally. Andrew responded to Asen's proposal positively and informed the pope of the arrangement. But it seems the Hungarian king was still reluctant. The marriage was not solemnized until Robert's trip across the Balkans to Constantinople, a journey that included passage through Bulgarian territory. The coincidence of the marriage, after having been put off for several years, with Robert's arrival suggests that in exchange for the celebration, Asen promised the new emperor, to whom he would soon be related, safe conduct.[322] Andrew, Robert's brother-in-law, apparently cared

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[320] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 32-33, ch 20. Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 161, ch 20.
[321] Wolff asserts that this daughter was the child of Andrew and Yolande: "[S]hortly thereafter he [Asen] had married a daughter of the king of Hungary, and had thus become Robert's nephew-in-law." Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 480. Vasileva agrees that this was a "mariage d'une nièce de Robert avec le roi Asen." Vasileva, "Les relations politiques bulgaro-latines au cours de la période 1218–1241," 78. The basis for this conclusion is unclear to me. A daughter of Andrew and Yolande would be a child in 1218. Andrew had three sons and two daughters with his first wife, Gertrude, who died in 1213. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 898, l 25. Engel states, without attribution, that Maria, Asen's bride, was Andrew's eldest child. Engel and Ayton, *The Realm of St. Stephen: a History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526*, p. 91. Andrew's journey home from the Levant involved other engagements: between his son Andrew and the daughter of the Armenian king and his daughter and the son of Theodore Lascaris. Theiner, *VMH*, I: 20-21, nos. XXXII, XXXIII. Vasileva, "Les relations politiques bulgaro-latines au cours de la période 1218–1241," pp 75-77. For a summary (and negative evaluation) of Andrew's crusade, see Röhricht, *Studien zur Geschichte des Fünften Kreuzzuges*, pp 23-30. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople," pp 386-94.
[322] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 404-5, ll 23045-70. For discussion of the relation between the marriage and Robert's safe passage, see Vasileva, "Les relations politiques bulgaro-latines au cours de la période 1218–1241," pp 78-79.

enough about his safety to move forward with the marriage. The engagement may explain the absence of major Bulgarian attacks on Constantinople between Yolande's death and Robert's arrival.[323] A Hungarian promise of nonaggression against or even support for Bulgaria drastically reduced any possible threat to Bulgaria from the Latin Empire and thus Asen's need to combat it. At a time when Asen was recovering from a long campaign against his predecessor and still consolidating his power, external peace was welcome.

Robert's single status when he arrived in Constantinople presented an opportunity quickly taken. The series of weddings discussed so far, those of Baudouin I, Henri, and Yolande's reigns, demonstrate how closely marriages were linked to the priorities of the empire. This had not changed with Robert's succession. Around the time of his arrival in Constantinople, Frankish envoys negotiated an agreement with Theodore Lascaris to end the conflict in Asia Minor and reinstate the peace between Constantinople and Nicaea. The terms of the peace were light: Lascaris's brother was released in exchange for Latin soldiers in Greek custody and a marriage was arranged between Robert and Eudokia, Lascaris's daughter.[324] This agreement may again show the influence of Marie de Courtenay, Lascaris's wife and Robert's sister, in facilitating the negotiation or urging her husband to accept the terms.[325] The speed of the agreement, apparently coinciding with Robert's arrival, suggests that the barons conceived of and even executed the agreement during the interregnum. The *baillis* and

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[323] See Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 507-8.
[324] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 30-32, ch 18. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 157, ch 18. Western sources also discuss the marriage: Baudoin d'Avesnes, "Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes," p. 507; Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 406-407, ll 23117-23146.
[325] Mouskès suggested as much. Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 407, ll 23128-23130: "Mais sa suer, qui l'avoit à drue, / S'en péna forment pour son frère, / Qui de la tière iert emperère."

the rest of the barons were well-placed to judge the importance of a peace with Nicaea and to determine that its confirmation was worthy of an imperial marriage.[326] Lascaris's marriage to Marie de Courtenay provided a successful model, since it had calmed the conflict between Constantinople and Nicaea and mitigated Lascaris's hostility to the Franks. Robert's subsequent reluctance to solemnize the marriage confirms that he was not the driving force behind the negotiation.

The engagement between Robert and Eudokia bolstered the possibility that the Frankish and Nicaean claims to Constantinople would be unified. Two marriages would then unite the Courtenays and the Lascarids, and if Robert and Eudokia had a child, he or she would be in line to inherit the throne. With Henri's marriage to a Bulgarian princess, the Franks had demonstrated their willingness to welcome an heir with kin ties to a nearby rival. As Bonifacio del Monferrato had, Lascaris arranged for his grandchild to inherit the throne he himself sought. Beyond the presumed good relations that would follow the succession of Theodore Lascaris's grandchild in Constantinople, it was just possible that Robert would inherit Lascaris's position after the Greek's death. The Byzantine tradition of men acquiring power through their wives remained alive in the post-1204 Greek world.[327] Lascaris himself began his imperial career as the husband of a princess, and he was succeeded by his son-in-law, John Vatatzes, who overcame challenges from Lascaris's blood kin.[328] Like Vatatzes, Lascaris's son-in-law Robert would have a claim to inherit through him and, thus, reunite Constantinople with its territory in Asia Minor.

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[326] For the barons' authority see the agreements between them and the Venetians and the church. Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 214-14, no. CCLVI. Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," pp 298-301, no. IV.
[327] See pp 53-53 above.
[328] Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, pp 118-19.

Despite these numerous advantages, the marriage between Robert and Eudokia never came to pass. Several possible reasons can be adduced. Lascaris and Marie's marriage created an affinity that, in turn, engendered opposition to the union from the patriarch on grounds of consanguinity.[329] A more fundamental reluctance to make peace with the Franks may have fueled the patriarch's antagonism. From the Frankish point of view, Lascaris's death in 1222 before the marriage took place changed the circumstances and reduced the Nicaean threat to Constantinople. Succession struggles ensued in Nicaea, and the Latin Empire took advantage of the situation, providing a haven for and military support to Lascaris's brothers against John Vatatzes.[330] Perceiving a reduction in the threat from Asia Minor, the barons possibly preferred to reserve an imperial marriage for another rival or ally.[331] Finally, politics aside, Robert's personal preference may have doomed the marriage. Robert's later behavior shows that he balked at a diplomatic marriage.

Indeed, Robert's marriage, following a second, aborted engagement with Eudokia, sits at the center of criticism of his reign. It was a notable and striking exception to the rules of imperial politics. Reactions to it highlighted the centrality of marriage in the diplomatic strategy of the Latin Empire. The renewal of Robert's engagement to Eudokia in 1224–1225 followed or was associated with an agreement between Vatatzes and Robert that redrew boundaries in Asia Minor.[332] Instead of

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[329] The patriarch's objection to the union is recorded in Akropolites. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 31, ch 18: "ἔνθεν τοι καὶ ἔρις ἐκ τοῦ τότε πατριαρχοῦντος Μανουὴλ τῷ βασιλεῖ ξυμβεβήκει, μηδ' ὅλως τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀθεσμογαμίᾳ συγκατανεύοντος." Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 157, ch 18.

[330] Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 31, ch 18. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 157, ch 18. See the discussion in Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 315.

[331] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 407, ll 23147-48.

[332] For the renewal of the engagement, see Ibid., II: 409, ll 23195-206. In the early 1220s Vatatzes dealt with several conspiracies and military forays by internal rivals. The years 1224–1225 were eventful for

following through with the marriage this second time, Robert wed the daughter of a Western knight. This marriage had disastrous consequences for those involved. This marriage and Robert's behavior in other areas enraged the knights of the Latin Empire, who broke into the castle, killed his mother-in-law, and mutilated his wife.[333] Enraged and humiliated, Robert left for the West to seek papal support against his barons and died on his return journey while visiting his sister Agnès, the wife of Geoffroy II de Villehardouin.[334]

Robert's powerlessness against his barons is striking. The barons not only felt justified in taking extreme actions, guaranteed to anger their emperor, but also he did not have the power to punish them. Their actions testified to the empire's priorities and Robert's failure, as emperor, to further them. He had twice rejected a marriage to the relative of a dangerous rival, a marriage that would have solidified an alliance and reduced a serious threat. He did not even have the good sense to create a family connection to another important rival or ally. Instead, led by love, he married the

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Nicaea: Vatatzes defeated Latin forces at Poimaninon; he seized Adrianople; Adrianople then went over to Theodore Doukas; and Vatatzes and Robert concluded an alliance. Vatatzes conceded the areas of Asia Minor near Constantinople and Nicomedia, in return for Pegai and the area south of there. For a discussion of the dating of the agreement and its content see Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 107-8, no. 58. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, p. 137. For accounts of the events see Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 38-41, ch 24. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 172, ch 24. Baudoin d'Avesnes, "Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes," p. 507; Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 409, ll 23195-206. For the importance of these towns for naval operations, communication, and trade see Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, pp 316-17.

[333] Baudoin d'Avesnes, "Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes," p. 507: "au derrien parlerent tant preudome, que li mariaiges fut jurés un autre fois de l'empereour Robert et de la fille Toldre Lascre; et furent delivré grant plenté de prisonniers que li Grieu tenoient. Si fu li empereres Robers une piece en pais. Adont avoit une dame en Constantinoble. Fille avoit esté un chevalier d'Artois qui avoit non Bauduin de Neuvile. Li empereres Robers l'ama tant que il en laissa à parfaire le mariaige de la fille Lascre et de lui. Si epousa celle dame coiement, et la mist avec lui manoir en son palais, et la dame sa mere aussi. Quant li Fransois qui en Constantinoble estoient sorent ceste chose, trop en furent dolant et eshabi, car li empereres ne soingnoit de chose que il eust à faire. Pour ce prinsent conseil ensamble; et s'en alerent en la chamber l'empereour. Si prinsent la mere à la dame. Si l'envoierent noier en un batel, et la dame coperent les nés et les bauleffres, et puis s'en alerent." See also *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, p. 394. For an unlikely varient see "Chronicle of St Martin," in *RHGF* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1840), pp 310-11.

[334] *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, pp 394-95.

daughter of an unimportant knight. Robert acted not as emperor, with obligations to the political community, but as an individual, free to make an alliance according to his personal inclination. The barons acted not only out of personal disapproval, but also from a conviction of their right to intervene as representatives of the government in order to force Robert to live up to his official duties.[335]

His marriage may have been unacceptable to the barons for an additional reason. Not only did it fail to fulfill a political or strategic goal, but also it raised one knightly family from relative insignificance to prominence. It is likely that barons resented the elevation of one of their own. A parallel for this reaction appears in the kingdom of Jerusalem, where the ruling family was expected to marry either neighboring elites or Westerners. Marriage within the crusader nobility created tensions and conflicts.[336]

Naomi Standen, in summarizing themes from a collection of articles on frontier societies, notes the conflicts between central authorities and local leaders in frontier regions.[337] In Iberia, northern China, the British Isles, Lithuania, and Prussia, frontiers produced leaders who understood the nature of relationships across the borders very differently than did the centralized authorities. They exercised not merely independence from the center, but influence over it. Their actions created a second frontier reality, one often far from the antagonistic relationships imagined and promoted by their rulers. In the Latin Empire, a similar dynamic marked the divide between the barons and Robert. A comment in a papal letter from 1223 about the danger of internal

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[335] Both Baudouin d’Avesnes and Ernoul note that the barons came together and acted in a council. Baudoin d'Avesnes, “Livres de Baudoin d'Avesnes,” p. 507: “conseil ensamble”; *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, p. 394: “consel ensanle”.
[336] For an example of the problems created, see the case of Amalric, king of Jerusalem, whose first marriage, to Agnès de Courtenay, was dissolved as a condition of his succession.
[337] Power and Standen, “Frontiers in Question,” pp 24-26.

dissent among the Franks hints that the conflict between Robert and the barons started soon after his ascension and that the move against Robert's wife was only the final and most extreme act.[338] A variety of factors, starting from the very nature of the conquest and the selection of one of their own as emperor, reinforced by the necessity of having devoted fighting men in the field and in the areas under Frankish control, and heightened by the lengthy absence of an emperor in the late 1210s, strenghtened the barons and affirmed their sense of autonomy. Certainly, the military defeats of 1223–1226, in which the Latin Empire lost Thessaloniki, Adrianople, and most of their possessions in Asia Minor, cannot have made Robert popular. For the Latin Empire, the central authority against which the frontier pushed was not Constantinople itself, the empire was too small and danger too frequently at the walls of the great city itself to make that divide meaningful. Instead, it was the West and the emperors they sought from there. Robert was a newcomer, as was his mother and as would be Jean de Brienne. In 1221, however, Franks had ruled Constantinople for seventeen years. The barons represented the knowledge and experience of those years.

Of all of the marriages we know about from the Latin Empire, Robert's marriage to his unnamed and unimportant bride is the only one without an identifiable political motive. It manifests his refusal to adjust to his new position, evident both in his lack of appreciation of his status and in his disinterest in furthering foreign policy objectives. It contributes, understandably, to his reputation among contemporaries and historians as

[338] César Auguste Horoy, ed., *Medii ævi bibliotheca patristica* (Paris, 1879), VII: col 227, no. 5: "et praecipue cum Latinis existentibus in partibus Romaniae volumus, et consulimus te servare, cum ex dissensione multa possint imminere pericula."

an irresponsible dilettante.[339] He displayed a mindset more fitting to a French aristocrat than an emperor.

Robert and the West

Robert's reign showed certain continuity with those of his mother and uncles in his communications with the papacy. In 1222 and 1223, he wrote several times to Honorius III describing the desperate state of the Latin Empire.[340] Theodore Doukas was increasingly tightening the circle around Thessaloniki and the city was in great danger.[341] In March 1222, Bonifacio and Margaret's son Demetrios was in the West seeking aid. The pope was not insensitive to these pleas. In addition to providing moral support and the excommunication of Latins who fought in Greek armies, he turned the resources of the Hospital of Saint Samson in Constantinople to the defense of the city and urged Theodore Doukas to abandon his aggression toward the Latin Empire.[342] This call, of course, was unsuccessful, and Honorius III embarked on the planning of a crusade, to take place under the leadership of Guglielmo VI del Monferrato, Bonifacio's eldest son. The crusade would aid in the defense of Thessaloniki which, by 1223, was under siege from Theodore Doukas. Guglielmo VI del Monferrato was undoubtedly moved by his hereditary claim on the kingdom, although his younger brother had been crowned king. In promoting the crusade, Honorius III mentioned that but also spoke of the importance of Thessaloniki to the Latin Empire and the importance of the latter to

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339 For contemporaries see Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 910. For modern evaluations, see, e.g., Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, p. 167 and Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 484-85.

340 These letters are known from Honorius III's responses.

341 The story of Epiros's expansion in the early 1220s and the failure of the crusade is told in some detail in Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 493-504.

342 See Horoy, *Medii ævi bibliotheca patristica*, IV: col 203-4, no. CCXXVIII, V: col 227-28, no. VII Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, p. 95, nos. 4122-23.

the Holy Land.[343] He anticipated that, once the crusade arrived, it would be supported by troops from Constantinople and the Morea.[344] This combination, of the promise of land and the appeal to piety, was a potent one. In 1224, Guglielmo VI del Monferrato fell ill, which delayed the crusade until the autumn, at which point the weather was too bad to travel.[345] In the winter of 1224–1225, Honorius III placed a levy on the clergy of half of their income and movable goods.[346] He also made arrangements for the reinforcements from the Morea and Constantinople.[347] The crusade did, in fact, leave in the spring of 1225, three years after Demetrios had first arrived in the West, but Guglielmo VI del Monferrato died the following September and the crusade disintegrated without any accomplishments.[348]

As was appropriate, considering their leader, the crusaders appear to have hailed primarily from Lombardy and Italy. In recruiting men, Honorius III wrote to the archbishops of Genoa, Lucca, Milan, Padua, and Ravenna in Italy and Besançon and Lyon in France and, in a separate letter, specifically mentioned that Guglielmo VI del Monferrato was accompanied by men from Lombardy, Tuscany, and Burgundy.[349] This emphasis on Italy was a result of the specific nature of this crusade—to protect (and then regain) the inheritance of the Montferrat family in Greece. Robert, on the other hand, with the support of Honorius III, initiated a turn to the Capetians.

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[343] Horoy, *Medii ævi bibliotheca patristica*, VII: col 349-50, no. CXXIX: "quod ejus ad partes illas acessus toti Constantinopolitano imperio grandem potest utilitatem affere, considerantes etiam quod corroboratio status ipsius imperii multum est utilis Terrae Sanctae negotio."
[344] Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, pp 206, 283-84, 286, 299-300, nos. 4754, 5186, 5189, 5202, 5277.
[345] Honorius III related the circumstances in a letter to the prelates of Romania. Horoy, *Medii ævi bibliotheca patristica*, IX: col 721-24, no. XXXIV.
[346] Ibid. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, p. 297, no. 5270.
[347] His letter to Robert is from January 27, 1225. Ibid., pp 299-300, no. 5277. His letter calling on Geoffroy, Otho de la Roche and the doge is from February 12, 1225. Ibid., no. 5304.
[348] Richard of San Germano, "Chronica," in *RISS* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1937), col 996.
[349] The letters come from early 1224. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, nos. 4704, 4573.

Records of two requests survive from Robert's tenure, one from the emperor himself and one from the pope.[350] Philippe Mouskés recorded Robert's request to Louis VIII. The emperor chose as his envoy the *châtelain* of Arras, a long-time possession of Flanders, which Philip Augustus had obtained as part of Isabelle de Hainaut's dowry. Arras was located in northern France near Béthune and Saint Omer, an area that produced several important barons in the Latin Empire. The selection of a messenger from Arras suggests that he brought the appeal to the barons and people of northern France and Flanders generally, in addition to the Capetians.[351] The mission garnered promises from Louis VIII, but apparently no aid. According to Mouskés's account, the king acknowledged the kin relationship and agreed "pour son cousin," Robert, to send two or three hundred knights, but only after the king completed his mission in Avignon.[352] The king's death soon after the successful siege of Avignon makes it impossible to know whether he would have fulfilled his promise. His response,

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[350] In his *Registres,* Hendrickx cites evidence of only two communications from Robert to the papacy and two to the French kings, one of which I believe is a mistake. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 103-6, nos. 50, 52-53, 56. The second Capetian communication is a guarantee from Robert to Philip Augustus for the promises made by Philippe, marquis of Namur. Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe Auguste*, p. 490. no. 2221; Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Courtenay*, Preuves, 29. This guarantee is more appropriately attributed to Robert de Courtenay, the butler of France, the emperor Robert's uncle, and a frequent presence in the charters of the kings of France. Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 20 and 22. Robert de Courtenay, the emperor's uncle, had also served as guarantor for Alix, countess of Angoulême; Mathilde, countess of Nevers; and Louis, count of Sancerre. Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe Auguste*, pp 184, 469, 470, nos. 811, 2113, 2136. Logic dictates that further communication took place and its records are simply not extant. Hendrickx cites only two letters to the pope from Robert. It is impossible to believe that, during Robert's seven-year imperial tenure, he wrote only twice to the pope, his greatest supporter, who wrote frequently to him and was organizing a crusade to rescue Thessaloniki in the early 1220s. Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 103-4, nos. 50, 52. For the crusade and papal support of it see Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 490-93, 499-505. Honorious's correspondence to Robert survives, see Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, pp 83, 94-95, 129, 206, 299-300, nos. 4059, 4118, 4122-23, 4324, 4754, 5277. Honorious also refers to a request from the emperor and patriarch in a letter to a Cistercian abbey in Constantinople. Ibid., pp 160-61, no. 4487.
[351] See the missions of other envoys, for example, Nevélon de Soisson and Ponce de Lyon, pp 84-85 above.
[352] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 539, ll 26875-92. See the discussion in Régine Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, trans. Henry Noel (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc, 1972), pp 71, 106-11. Jean Richard, *Saint Louis: roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris: Fayard, 1983), pp 33-36.

however, makes it clear that aid for his cousin in Constantinople was not a high priority. Despite this, his selection as the object of an appeal and his promise to send aid manifests the tie between Constantinople and France, one renewed and personified in the relationship between the emperor and king. The mission did not yield its hoped-for results and it established a pattern that would be repeated: A Courtenay request to the Capetians for support was met with a promise for future aid, which was only to be given after the French king achieved more important priorities.

An earlier letter from Honorius III to Blanche of Castile, Louis VIII's wife, confirms and expands on the connection between the Courtenays and the Capetians. The pope's choice of Blanche as his correspondent when seeking royal aid was not unusual. Blanche's biographer, Pernoud, described her role: "When they wanted something from the King, they went to the Queen. Even the Pope, whose legates kept him well-informed, addressed himself to Blanche when he had some request to make of Louis."[353] The letter came in May 1224, not even a year after her father-in-law's death, and, describing the disastrous state of the Latin Empire, requested that Blanche encourage her husband to send aid.[354] Honorius III relied on kinship and cultural affinity as the basis for his appeal. The kinship between Louis VIII and Robert was mentioned up front: "[C]onsobrino carissimi in Christo filii nostri Ludovici illustris regis Francorum." "Consobrinus" stands out as different from the more frequent "consanguineus" that was often used to refer to cousins, as Louis VIII and Robert were. Robert's brother Baudouin II employed the term "consanguineus" in later letters when

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[353] Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, p. 92.
[354] For the original text, see Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, pp 250-51, no. 5006; Horoy, *Medii ævi bibliotheca patristica*, VIII: col 663-64, no. CCXXVII.

writing to Louis IX.[355] "Consobrinus," in contrast, had a more restricted meaning, according to Niermeyer, "cousin, son of my father's brother . . . nephew, sister's son," expressing a closer relationship than the general term.[356] By using this term, Honorius III pointedly reminded Blanche of the kinship between the Capetians and the Courtenays and hoped to invoke a sense of familial obligation in the queen and her husband.

The pope also stressed the French nature of the enterprise in Constantinople. In a famous phrase, Honorius III said that in the Latin Empire "quasi nova Francia est creata."[357] Just as a *consobrinus* had a greater claim on the French king than a non-relative would, so did *nova Francia* have a claim greater than that of a non-French enterprise. The French character of the Latin Empire was determined by the origins of its original settlers. These nobles, and the ones who came later, created and extended both the kin connection and cultural affinity. Honorius III's language echoes Henri's reference to the "populus Franciae" in Constantinople almost two decades earlier.

Less often noted than *nova Francia* is the repetition of the word "Gallicus" in Honorius III's letter. The empire of Romania is "in Gallicorum manibus;" the "potentia Gallicorum" is diminished; harm is done to "genti Gallicae;" it would be impious to allow the "gentem Gallicam" to be killed; the "gentes Gallicae" could be saved by aid. "Gallicus" stands out here because "Latinus" was a much more common appellation for

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355 See, for example, Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 423-24 and Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 464, no. 2954.

356 Although "consanguineus" does not merit a separate entry in Niermeyer, "consanguinitas" appears as "relatives." J. F. Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2002), I: 335.

357 Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, pp 250-51, no. 5006; Horoy, *Medii ævi bibliotheca patristica*, VIII: col 663-64, no. CCXXVII.

the Westerners in Constantinople.[358] Honorius did refer to the settlers as "Latini," but only twice. Gallicus, with its precise usage of the ecclesiastical unit, including France and northern Spain, perfectly emphasized the specific connection between the French monarchy—defenders and supporters of the church in France—and their once-compatriots in Constantinople. It reminded Blanche and, through her, Louis VIII, of both the French and the religious nature of the Latin Empire. They were encouraged to feel a sense of obligation based on kinship, shared culture, and, now, piety.

Although the letter is from Honorius and not Robert or the barons in Constantinople, it mirrors the significance of kinship and cultural affinity with France felt by the Franks. They had already sought two emperors in France and, following Robert's death, turned to France again for a ruler during Baudouin II's minority. The resort to France, in addition to reflecting their cultural origins, had other logic. Although the Capetians had not yet demonstrated significant interest in the Latin Empire, the French monarchy had a history of crusading enterprises and that, combined with the kin and cultural connection, made it a promising source of help.[359] As Mouskés's account suggests, during his short reign, Louis VIII had other, more immediate priorities than helping the Latin Empire, including military campaigns in western and southern France.[360] Louis VIII's early death in November of 1226, merely three years after his father's, left the throne to his young son Louis IX and the regency in the hands of Blanche. Baronial opposition challenged Capetian power and, more

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[358] See, for example, other correspondence of Honorius from 1224 using referring to the settlers as "Latini" Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, pp 283-86, nos. 5186, 5189, 5202. For the history of the term "Romania" to refer to Byzantine territory see Wolff, "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople".
[359] See pp 35-36 above.
[360] Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, pp 100-2, 105-11.

specifically, Blanche's regency, creating further distractions.[361] In the 1240s, with her son's rule unchallenged and her own position secure, Blanche would renew her interest in events and developments in Constantinople.

The connection between the Capetians and the Latin Empire arose during Louis VIII's reign in a final, unexpected way, one that demonstrates that ties between Constantinople and Europe were far from severed. In the mid-1220s, a hermit claiming to be Baudouin IX of Flanders and I of Constantinople appeared in Flanders and garnered support from a coalition of nobles and townspeople opposed to Jeanne, countess of Flanders and daughter of the true Baudouin. Jeanne appealed to Louis VIII to judge the matter. The king sent Sybille de Beaujeu, his aunt and Baudouin I's sister, to meet with the claimant. She did not recognize him and decided that he must not be her brother. Hiding her conviction, she convinced him to meet with Louis. After an audience in which he was unable to answer the king's questions about Baudouin I's past, the pseudo-Baudouin fled but was soon captured and put to death.[362] Louis's involvement in this affair was not a result of any interest in the fate of the Latin Empire. Instead, he acted as a royal judge, whose authority would be respected. The incident serves as a reminder that relocation to the East did not obliterate Western ties and interests. For many, including the emperors, a lord-vassal relationship with the French king was an important and continuing aspect of their identity.

Final evidence for the importance of kin connections came during Robert's reign. Visits to his sisters in Hungary and Greece bookended his undistinguished

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[361] Pernoud, *Blanche of Castile*, pp 117-44, 156-62; Richard, *Saint Louis: roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte*, pp 36-49, 87-120.
[362] Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225," 294-99.

imperial tenure, about which so little is known. He broke his original journey east with a stop in Hungary where he remained during the winter. His sister Yolande had married the king of Hungary more than six years previously, but a bond apparently remained between the siblings. Returning to Constantinople, after his mission to seek papal support, he rested in the Morea, where his sister Agnès was married to Geoffroy II of Villehardouin. In the latter case as well, it may have been years since the siblings met; no reference survives to Robert's prior appearance in Greece or Agnès's in Constantinople. Robert's stopovers may reflect familial sentiment, a shortage of allies or both. Whatever the reason, these visits show the longevity of kinship and the strength of alliances solidified by marriage.

CHAPTER 4:

PAPAL SUPPORT AND FRENCH IDENTITY, 1228–1236

Robert's death in 1228 created another hiatus in the succession to the imperial throne, and another opportunity for the barons to consider their priorities and seek a leader who was most likely to achieve them. The barons turned, as they had twice before, to the West for a new emperor. But, with a young Baudouin II in the wings, considerations of succession did not constrain their choice. Experienced warriors, French aristocrats, and crusaders, they settled on a man who shared those qualities, Jean de Brienne. In doing so, they relied on the matrix of kinship, religious allegiance, crusading and regional identity for support. They affirmed their Western identity, in the face of their quarter-century of residence in Constantinople. The events of the 1230s, however, confirmed the difficulty the Franks faced in marshalling enough Western support to protect and strengthen their small empire.

The first remarkable aspect of Jean de Brienne's selection was the search for a new ruler outside of Constantinople. Robert's youngest brother, Baudouin II, born to Yolande after her arrival in Constantinople, was eleven years old when he died. In western Europe, Baudouin II probably would have succeeded his brother directly with a regent or regents appointed to manage affairs until he reached maturity.[363] This solution was possible in Constantinople. There were candidates perfectly capable of assuming a regency. A logical first choice would have been his sister Marie, the widow of Theodore Lascaris and Baudouin II's closest relative. She was alive at the time of

[363] One need think only of two of Baudouin II's contemporaries, Frederick II and Louis IX, to be reminded of the ubiquity and pitfalls of regencies in the western European Middle Ages.

Robert's journey to the west and served as *baillis* during his absence, although she died soon after him.[364] Even after her death, however, another regent would have been easy to find. The barons had already demonstrated in the prior interregna and in their dealings with Robert that they were willing, even eager, to take governance of the empire into their own hands. Narjot de Toucy, the *bailli* after Marie's death, was an experienced lord whose work in the Latin Empire eventually won him recognition and privileges from Gregory IX.[365] As *bailli* from 1228 to 1231, he displayed confidence and skill in diplomatic negotiations and secured, at least temporarily, the Latin Empire's borders. As regent, or head of a regency council, until Baudouin II's majority, he could have done the same.

Several factors pushed the barons to seek a new emperor in the West. Although the 1220s had seen few attacks on the Latin Empire, the situation around Constantinople remained dangerous for the Franks. John Asen, Theodore Doukas, and John Vatatzes were all powerful rulers and increasingly experienced military leaders. All three were secure in their positions, relatively free from internal uprisings against them or challenges to their rule, and interested in conquering Constantinople.[366] In such a circumstance, the Franks would certainly benefit from a strong, militarily skilled leader, as they had during Henri's rule. The barons needed only look at the Fifth Crusade to

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[364] In a document originally misattributed to Henri's wife, Marie renewed the privileges of the Pisans. She is identified as "Maria, Dei gratia imperatrix, baiula imperii Constantinopolitani." Lowenfeld, *Archives de l'Orient latin* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1884), II: 256-57.

[365] In 1234, Gregory IX granted Narjot a privilege also accorded to emperors and kings, that no one could excommunicate him without specific papal permission. Gregory justified this privilege with reference to the work and funds that Narjot had expended for the Latin Empire. L. Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, Registres des papes 9 (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1899), col 958-59, no. 1746.

[366] Akropolites reported a revolt by Vatatzes's cousin in 1224–1225, which forced him to withdraw from battle with the Latins. The rebellion, however, was not serious enough to necessitate the execution of its leader. Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 36-38, ch 23. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 269, ch 23.

see the problems inherent in running a military campaign without a clear leader. Yet, within the Latin Empire itself, the barons had frequently and successfully held the reins of government. After Yolande's death, they had lead military operations against Theodore Lascaris in the absence of an emperor or empress and in 1228 Narjot de Toucy was prepared to embark on truce negotiations with the Turks and Theodore Doukas. In the Latin Empire, a regent or regency council might have actually functioned.

Yet, further considerations were at hand. The barons were accustomed to participating in government, but the prospect of promoting one of their own to imperial status for the medium or even long term may have raised jealousy in the rest. Such jealousy had already played a part in Robert's downfall.[367] Drawing an emperor from foreign lands circumvented this rivalry. Most important, a Westerner could be expected to bring much-needed reinforcements of men and money. Pierre II had set out with an army, although it never made it to Constantinople. Likewise, in the early 1220s, Honorius III had gathered a crusade under William of Montferrat, who was interested in prosecuting his claim to the throne of Thessaloniki. This was certainly the pattern in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. With all these concerns, the barons evinced no desire to run the empire without an otherwise disinterested, adult, male ruler and began immediately after Robert's death to seek out an outsider to fill that role.

In need of an emperor, then, one to rule until Baudouin II could lead the government and army, the barons faced, as they had at Henri's death, a choice between an Eastern candidate and a French one. In each man, they identified a possible father-in-law for Baudouin II, one who had a marriageable daughter and a wealth of

[367] See pp 121-23 above for a consideration of this issue.

experience in warfare and rulership. Nearby, the barons considered John Asen, tsar of Bulgaria, a ruler who, after overthrowing his cousin a decade earlier, had consolidated his power and defeated his enemies, demonstrating, in the process, a willingness to make agreements with his neighbors, a lack of aggression toward the Latin Empire, and a generous attitude toward conquered people. In the West, the barons set their sights on Jean de Brienne, king of Jerusalem, a candidate who shared their cultural origins and had an impressive career, but who lacked familiarity with the environment around Constantinople. The story of the decision and the negotiations involved reveals a great deal about the needs of the Latin Empire, as well as the barons' own self-interest.

At some point in 1228, the barons and Baudouin II reached a tentative agreement with John Asen.[368] The accounts of Italian authors Dandolo and Sanudo, although not offering specifics, agree on the accord's general principles: Baudouin II and Asen's daughter, Helen, would be married. In return, the Bulgarian tsar promised to reconquer imperial lands in Thrace and Macedonia, which Theodore Doukas had seized. Asen would fund this military operation from his own income.[369] Neither

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[368] The agreement is summarized in several sources. Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 292; Marino Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," in *Gesta Dei per Francos, sive Orientalium expeditionum historia 1095–1420*, ed. Jacques Bongars (Hanover, 1611), pp 72-73. Hendrickx cites a letter of the podestà, Giovanni Querini, as a source for the agreement between the barons and John Asen. The "dominus rex Io." is better identified as Jean de Brienne, however. The agreement as described matches that between the barons and Jean de Brienne. In delineating the land that the new emperor might leave his heirs, the podestà noted one of the limits as "illud quod Assanus inde tenet." The new emperor, however, is repeatedly referred to as Io, which contradicts the argument that Io was Asen. Additionally, using Asen's lands to describe the limit of the Latin Emperor's jurisdiction makes more sense if Io was Jean de Brienne. Roberto Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia* (Bologne: Zanichelli, 1931), pp 210-11, no. 141; Hendrickx, *Regestes*, p. 113, no. 67. See also Vasileva, "Les relations politiques bulgaro-latines au cours de la période 1218–1241," 82-83.

[369] Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 292: "Balduino heredi imperii Constantinopolitani imperator del Çagora promisit totam occidentalem plagam ei aquirer, si eius filiam acciperet coniugem." Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," p. 73: "Promittebat enim Balduino Imperator praedictus, sua gente, suis'que expensis propriis recuperare terram totam Imperii Romaniae, quam praedecessores amiserant in partibus Occidentis."

author mentioned the extent of Asen's authority or Baudouin II's status during the minority—two issues that dominated the negotiations with Jean de Brienne.

Asen's history and reputation both promoted and hurt his candidacy for the imperial regency. Asen had already demonstrated his willingness to solidify alliances through marriage. He took those alliances and their attendant obligations seriously. Soon after his succession, he married Andrew of Hungary's daughter. The celebration of this marriage coincided with Robert's journey across Bulgarian territory. In the 1220s, Theodore Doukas's capture of Adrianople and Thessaloniki prompted Asen to arrange a marriage between his own illegitimate daughter and Theodore's brother, Manuel Doukas.[370] A marriage between Baudouin II and Marie would have completed Asen's set of alliances with his powerful neighbors. Moreover, it would have improved Bulgaria's situation vis-a-vis the Doukai, who were now settled in Thessaloniki. The two powers shared a border and the Doukai's prior actions cautioned Asen against feeling secure in his alliance with them.[371] A Bulgaro-Frankish alliance also had positive precedents; two prior marriages between Bulgarians and Franks had been arranged during Henri's reign and each had produced peace and an offensive alliance of the parties.[372]

In his career, Asen demonstrated characteristics that made him appealing as a ruler. He treated conquered peoples with generosity, a characteristic described by

[370] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 104-5. This alliance did not prevent Theodore from attacking Bulgaria in 1229, probably in part as a response to the proposed alliance with the Latin Empire.
[371] See pp 66-70 above for Michael's pattern of reneging on agreements. Theodore's career was similarly checkered: seizing Pierre II after promising him safe passage, attacking Bulgaria in 1216 and then again between 1218 and 1223. See pp 103-4 above for the capture of Pierre. Ibid., pp 49-61.
[372] See pp 60-65 above.

Akropolites.[373] After defeating Theodore Doukas in 1230, he seized his rival, his advisers, and their possessions, but "was rather more compassionately disposed towards the captured masses; he freed most of the army and especially the common people and the rabble, and sent them to their villages and cities."[374] The story gave Akropolites an opportunity to evaluate the Bulgarian: "… a man who proved to be excellent among barbarians not only with regard to his own people but also even with respect to foreigners. For he was most compassionate to those foreigners who came over to him and especially to the Romans, and he generously provided them with a living."[375] For Akropolites, Asen's generosity was particularly notable since Asen was a Bulgarian. In his description of Theodore Doukas, Akropolites insulted Theodore Doukas by likening him to the Bulgarians. Theodore was "naturally unsuited to the institutions of the imperial office, he handled matters in a Bulgarian or, rather, barbarian fashion for he did not understand hierarchy or protocol or the many ancient customs."[376] In contrast, Asen acted in an un-Bulgarian matter, by declining to massacre the Greeks in conquered areas and employing Greeks in his service.

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[373] Akropolites' positive opinion of Asen is particularly notable, since Asen abandoned an alliance with Nicaea. The Nicaean author's interest in Bulgarian affairs only picked up after the alliance between Bulgaria and Epiros in the mid 1220s. See his perfunctory account of Asen's rise to power Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 32-33, ch 20. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 161, ch 20.

[374] Translation in Ibid., pp 178-79, ch 25. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 42, ch 25: "φιλανθρωποτέρως δὲ περί τὸ ἁλωθὲν πλῆθος ὁ Ἀσὰν διατεθείς, τοὺς πλείους τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς χυδαιοτέρους καὶ σύγκλυδας ἐλευθεροῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰς αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπει κώμας τε καὶ πὸλεις." This act of generosity also served his self-interest, "for he wanted to rule over them." "τάχα μὲν καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον ἐνδεικνύμενος, τάχα δὲ καὶ τὸ συμφέρον τούτῳ πραγματευόμενος."

[375] Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 211, ch 39. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 64, ll 7-11, ch 39: "ἀνὴρ ἐν βαρβάροις ἄριστος ἀναφανείς, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις γὰρ μόνον ἀλλά γε δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις. ἐχρήσατο καὶ γὰρ φιλανθρωπότερον τοῖς προσερχομένοις αὐτῷ ἐπήλυσι καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ φιλοτίμως αὐτοῖς παρεῖχε τὰ σιτηρέσια."

[376] Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 162, ch 21. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 34, ch 21: "ἀφυῶς δὲ ἔχων περὶ τοὺς τῆσ βασιλείας θεσμοὺς βουλγαρικώτερον ἢ μᾶλλον βαρβαρικώτερον ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι προσεφέρετο, οὐ τάξιν γινώσκων οὐδὲ κατάστασιν οὐδὲ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀρχαῖα ἔθιμα καθεστήκασιν."

Asen's strength and wealth matched his generosity. Sanudo referred to him as "magnificus et potens."[377] The Franks were in need of these qualities. Robert's reign had seen the loss of Adrianople and Thessaloniki, both of which were in Theodore Doukas's hands in 1228. Asen had the right resources and geographic base to mount a serious challenge to Theodore's expansion, a project that was also in his own interest. Even if Asen failed to launch a military campaign, he could use his kin relationship with Theodore Doukas to prevent or delay further attacks on Frankish territory.

Asen's career suggested that he would treat the Latin Empire with care. The tsar had granted Robert safe passage through Bulgarian territory when the new emperor traveled to Constantinople in 1221. During Robert's reign, the Bulgarians had refrained from attacking Constantinople and the surrounding territory.[378] The *Chronique d'Ernoul* suggests that Asen even provided active support for the Latin Empire: "li Blac li aidierent se tiere à retenire, çou qu'il en trova."[379] This aid may have included dissuading Theodore Doukas, to whom he was related by marriage, from attacking the city.[380]

All these advantages led Wolff to chide the barons for rejecting Asen's offer:

> this story ... provides the outstanding single example, during the entire history of the Latin Empire, of that diplomatic ineptitude and extreme individualism, combined with a contempt for foreigners, which had, under Baldwin I, led the barons to reject Greek, Vlach, and Turkish alliances. As regent, Asen would probably have been able to maintain and strengthen the Empire, even though he might well have turned it into a mere protectorate ... what may well have been the last chance to stabilize the western position at Constantinople was now lost.[381]

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[377] Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," pp 72-73: "viri in illis partibus, tunc temporis magnifici & potentis."
[378] Vasileva, "Les relations politiques bulgaro-latines au cours de la période 1218–1241," p. 79.
[379] *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, p. 394.
[380] See Wolff's discussion of this possbility. "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 507-8.
[381] Ibid., p. 516.

Wolff's critique is based on the supposition, not an unreasonable one, that the Latin Empire would have grown more powerful under the tutelage and control of Asen. The advantages of such an alliance, according to Wolff, vastly outweighed any disadvantages, such as becoming incorporated into Asen's realm. At least one contemporary observer agreed with Wolff's later evaluation. Sanudo was quite clear that the proposed alliance would have been a benefit to Baudouin II and the empire, and he characterized the barons' advice as "dolosum" and "inconsultum."[382] I take issue here with aspects of Sanudo's and Wolff's evaluations, in particular the reasons for the barons' rejection of a Bulgarian alliance and the wisdom of their action.

Wolff's evaluation is rife with disdain. The Latin Empire evinced "diplomatic ineptitude and extreme individualism, combined with a contempt for foreigners." There is, however, little reason to attribute the rejection of the Bulgarian alliance to these causes. The deal arranged with Asen had benefits. It also, however, had certain disadvantages. It was these disadvantages, not prejudice or stupidity, that prompted the barons' retreat. The barons' actions did not reveal "contempt for foreigners" and the evidence argues against such feelings on their part. After all, it was barons, albeit those of an earlier generation, who had urged Henri to arrange two prior marriages with Bulgarians.[383] A consideration of the biography of Narjot de Toucy, the *bailli* of the empire in 1228 and one of the most powerful barons in the empire, confirms this point. Narjot was a cosmopolitan man. His personal life reflected the flexibility increasingly apparent among the Franks in the East, specifically in the arena of political marriages. His first marriage was to the daughter of Agnès of France and Alexios Branas, a union

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[382] Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," p. 73.
[383] See pp 63-66 above

that reinforced Branas's relationship with the Franks.[384] In the late 1230s, after the death of his first wife, he married a Cuman princess in order to seal an alliance. Cumans were far more alien to the Franks than were the Bulgarians. Some Cumans had relocated to Hungarian territory in the thirteenth century and, at least superficially, converted to Christianity.[385] Narjot's bride, however, was not a Christian or not reliably so, since she was baptized on the occasion of their wedding.[386] His political behavior matched his personal history. As regent, Narjot sent envoys to the sultan of Konya and Theodore Doukas and established a temporary truce with Theodore.[387] It is hard to imagine Narjot blocking the Bulgarian alliance because of prejudice.

It is possible, of course, that the prejudice rested with Baudouin II. According to Sanudo, the imperial heir himself made the final decision about the marriage and, thus, the alliance, although the advice of his barons guided his choice.[388] Baudouin II was, at most, eleven years old when the deals with Asen and Jean de Brienne were proposed. Given his age and the barons' assertiveness, it is unlikely that his opinion prevailed. Any position he had, moreover, was probably not guided by prejudice. Baudouin II was no provincial French aristocrat. On the contrary, he was born and raised in Constantinople. He had a familial connection to Greeks through his sister, Marie, who was Lascaris's widow and who had returned to Constantinople after her

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[384] See pp 54-57 above.
[385] For the Cuman's settlement and existence in Hungary see Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000– c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[386] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 947, ll 1-5. See pp 201-2 below.
[387] Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, p. 208, no. 134: "cum legatione domini Narzoti, baylivi imperii Constantinopolitani, ad dictum Soldanum." Ibid., p. 209, no. 140: "Narzotus de Tuciaco Cesar, potestas et ordinator et baiulus imperii Constantinopolis, et certeri barones iuramus ... ut habeamus treuguam tecum altissimo imperatore grecorum domino Teodero, imperatore Comiano Duca."
[388] Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," p. 73: "dolosum sibi dederunt consilium, ut videlicet filiam Imperatoris Exagorarum, quamuis formosam valdè, renueret et filia domini *Iohannis*, tunc Regis Ierusalem, reciperet in uxorem."

husband's death. Her appointment as *bailli* after Robert's death suggests that she was involved in the court and may have raised Baudouin II. His political decisions throughout his career show no evidence of being guided by prejudice—quite the opposite. In the most flamboyant example, Baudouin II attempted to arrange a marriage between his niece and the Turkish sultan in the 1240s. I cannot, of course, prove that Baudouin II and the barons did not look on the Bulgarians with a distaste rooted in cultural and ethnic difference, as Henri had twenty years before. They might very well have. But there is no evidence for this prejudice or sign that, if it existed, it influenced the decision to reject Asen as regent. Even Henri's prejudice did not prevent him from arranging two marriage alliances.

Wolff's judgment of "diplomatic ineptitude" can be applied to the barons' agreement with Jean de Brienne, but hardly to their other actions during the interregnum. During his regency, Narjot reached out to Epiros and the Turks, demonstrating an understanding of the environment and a willingness to participate in the local network of allies and enemies. In negotiating a year-long truce with Theodore Doukas, Narjot protected the empire from one of its enemies. On the Eastern front, his envoy to the sultan attempted to secure an alliance against Jean Vatatzes. In approaching Asen, the barons acted on their awareness that local alliances were an important strategy to maintain power. Far from being isolationists, the barons sought out relations with their neighbors. The deal with Asen certainly carried benefits for the Latin Empire and was, again, a successful piece of diplomacy.

Wolff also accused the barons of "extreme individualism," which I understand to mean the barons' prioritization of their own interests over those of the empire.[389] This accusation has the most weight and, in fact, the barons might have based their choice of Jean de Brienne in part on concern for their own security. But the evidence contradicts, or at least complicates, Wolff's image of self-centered men unconcerned with the fate of their government. If the barons made political decisions with an eye toward their own fortunes, they also made personal choices that served the polity. These two sets of interests—those of the barons and the empire—were closely if not inextricably intertwined. As a crusader state, an outpost of Western society in the East, the cultural and religious composition of the government was an essential aspect of the Latin Empire. The rule of Constantinople by Westerners constituted the state.

Instead of attributing the failed alliance to the barons' individualism, ineptitude, or prejudice, I would argue they made a calculated decision in response to the possibility Wolff acknowledged but passed over, namely that Constantinople would become a "mere protectorate." Asen had the capacity to strengthen the Latin Empire, but the cost might well have been its absorption into Bulgarian territory. Subsequent events revealed Asen's ambitions toward Constantinople. In 1230, in an inscription celebrating his military victory over Theodore Doukas, Asen voiced his attitude toward the Latin Empire, bragging: "To the Franks only the city of Tsargrad remains, but even they have become subject to my Majesty, for they have no king but me, and owe their

[389] This too is based on Sanudo's evaluation: "tunc Barones suitimentes, quod postquam Balduinus suum firmasset Imperium, ne procederet cõtra eos, propter o(se)nsam magnam quam in praedecessorem ipsius commiserant, dolosum sibi dederunt consilium." Ibid..

survival to me alone."[390] In the 1230s, Asen and Vatatzes launched several joint attacks on Constantinople, which threatened the survival of the city. For the barons, Asen's generosity and mercy were countered by his ambition. Although Asen might have been a magnanimous regent, he had designs on Constantinople and could have used his regency to gain direct control over the city. Accepting Asen as regent could have reduced the Latin Empire to a subsidiary or even part of the Bulgarian polity. The same risk had been inherent in the choice of Andrew of Hungary as successor to Henri, a development the barons had likewise rejected. Even if the tsar did not seize control of the city, a child born to Helen and Baudouin II, with the powerful Asen as a grandfather, could well have ended up more sympathetic to Bulgarian interests than to those of the immigrant French community. As examples in these pages have shown, marriage did not obviate women's ties to their natal family and its interests. Helen might have maintained an allegiance to Bulgaria, one that could have passed to her husband and children. Baudouin II's young age and Eastern upbringing increased the possibility that he would be swayed by his wife and father-in-law into an affection and concern for Bulgaria.

As their actions against Robert's wife indicated, the barons were willing to act to preserve their influence. Dandulo specified that the barons who opposed Asen were those "qui patrem tam seve offenderant," referring to the outrage committed against Robert's wife and mother-in-law.[391] The rise of Asen in Constantinople threatened the barons' own power. As with Andrew of Hungary, Asen had a base that was close

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[390] Translation from Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, p. 113. Wolff also translated the text and included a copy of the inscription. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 536. For a German translation see Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, pp 251-52.
[391] Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 292.

enough to provide, if he desired, his own men to run the empire. The barons had reason to be anxious about their position in the city and government of the Latin Empire, should Asen come to the throne. In contrast, a Western emperor would be more dependent on them and their knowledge and experience in the region, even if he brought his own men. The barons' power had already survived the selection of two Western emperors—Pierre II and Robert. It would survive a third.

Instead of choosing the Bulgarian tsar, the barons settled on Jean de Brienne, an elderly but well-respected soldier and papal ally, with a demonstrated interest in the East, and a daughter of the right age. In 1228, his career had already combined achievements in France and Italy with a notable tenure as the king of Jerusalem. His selection affirmed and deepened Constantinople's connection to France. It also emphasized, for contemporaries and historians, the crusader nature of the Latin Empire, a characteristic constantly cited by the popes but remarkably ineffective as a recruiting tool. The failures of Jean de Brienne's reign show the Latin Empire's precarious reliance on this intersection of kin and crusading to maintain its existence.

Like Pierre II and the barons of the Latin Empire, Jean de Brienne was a French aristocrat with origins in Burgundy and Champagne. Born around the middle of the twelfth century, his early years are obscure. He acquired significant properties and in the early thirteenth century the knight took on the title "count of Brienne" as regent for his young nephew.[392] The Brienne lands were located in the county of Champagne and the family was well-connected there. Jean appears in charters with Thibaut III of Champagne, his widow Blanche, the archbishop of Sens, and the lords of Bar-sur-Seine,

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[392] Henri d' Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur les premières années de Jean de Brienne, roi de Jérusalem, empereur de Constantinople* (Paris, 1868), pp 235-41.

Chappes, Joigny, and Sancerre.[393] Jean's tenure as king of Jerusalem did not sever his connection to Champagne. On the contrary, he retained control of Brienne until his nephew Gautier IV came of age.[394] Even its transfer did not end his involvement in events in Champagne.[395] Jean's Champenois origins gave him a great deal in common with the barons in Constantinople.[396] Already an elderly man, Jean was older than most of the men who lived in Constantinople in 1228.[397] But he would have known some of their fathers and grandfathers, if not the barons themselves.

In addition to his roots and career in Champagne, Jean de Brienne had a complex relationship, at times uneasy, at times close, with the Capetians. In 1214, he witnessed Philip Augustus's confirmation that neither the king nor his son Louis would hear any case challenging Thibaud IV de Champagne's right to his inheritance.[398]

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[393] See Henri d' Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue d'actes des comtes de Brienne, 950–1356* (Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes, 1872), pp 27, 29-30, nos. 119, 133, 135, 137-38; Charles Lalore, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Loup de Troyes*, Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes I (Troyes: E. Thorin, 1875), pp 192-93; AD Aube, 4 H 34; Evergates, *Littere Baronum: the Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne*, p. 87, no. 47, ftnt 3; Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, p. 135, no. 308. The connections here are complex. Guillaume, the count of Sancerre, was Pierre de Courtenay's brother-in-law and departed with him for Constantinople. Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Courtenay*, pp 16-17. Later in the thirteenth century, the French branch of the Courtenays married into the Joigny and Brienne families. Arsenal, MS 6023, #28. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, vol III, part IV, p. 427, no. 2846. Jean de Brienne's confirmation of Clarembaud de Chappes's donations came as the latter prepared to leave for the Fourth Crusade. AD Aube, 4 H 34, with a summary in Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue d'actes des comtes de Brienne, 950–1356*, p. 29, no. 133.

[394] For Jean de Brienne's continued involvement see Ibid., pp 31-32, no. 145-47. In 1221, he requested that Blanche of Champagne and Thibaut IV to put Gautier IV in possession of the county. Ibid., p. 32, no. 148.

[395] Ibid., p. 32, no. 149. He confirmed two transactions involving Erard de Brienne and local ecclesiastics. AD Yonne H 706. AD Yonne G 464, with a summary published in Quantin, *Cartulaire général de l'Yonne*, II: 135, no. 308.

[396] The Champenois played an important role in the early years of the Latin Empire. Thibaud III de Champagne had been the original leader of the Fourth Crusade, and the first generation of settlers boasted a number of men from his county, most prominently Geoffroy de Villehardouin the chronicler and Milo le Brebant who held important positions in Thibaud's government.

[397] Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur les premières années de Jean de Brienne, roi de Jérusalem, empereur de Constantinople*, p. 235. Upon his departure for Constantinople, Jean de Brienne left his lands in the hands of Gautier IV, who would inherit them if Jean did not have any surviving children. Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue d'actes des comtes de Brienne, 950–1356*, pp 34-35, no. 162.

[398] Evergates, *Littere Baronum: the Earliest Cartulary of the Counts of Champagne*, pp 122-23, no. 88.

Jean's close relationship with Blanche of Champagne after her husband's death, however, concerned Philip Augustus and apparently caused the king to recommend Jean for the throne of Jerusalem, thus removing him as a possible threat to Capetian power.[399] If so, his relations with the Capetians were repaired in the reign of Louis VIII and the regency of Blanche of Castile. During Jean's trip to the West from Jerusalem in the 1220s, he married, late in life, Berengaria, princess of Castile and the niece of the powerful French queen.[400] This marriage created a connection with the queen that extended beyond formal kinship. Blanche, despite her childhood departure from Spain to marry the future Louis VIII, remained close to her family, as letters between her and her parents and sister attest.[401] Soon after their marriage, Jean and Berengaria visited her aunt in France, where Berengaria participated in a religious procession with the queen praying for Louis VIII's military success.[402] After Frederick II supplanted Jean de Brienne in Jerusalem, the ex-king was present at Louis IX's coronation. He lived up to the relationship his marriage had created and refused to join nobles opposing Blanche's regency.[403] Further proof of Jean's closeness to the Capetians comes from events after his departure for Constantinople. His sons were raised, in part at least, in

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[399] The continuation of Guillaume de Tyre provided an account of Philip Augustus's choice of Jean de Brienne. "L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquest de la terre d'outre mer," in *RHC Occ* (Paris: L'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1859), pp 306-7.

[400] Oswald Holder-Egger, ed., "Chronicon S. Martini Turonensi," in *MGH SS* (Hanover, 1882), p. 470; Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 913, ll 45-46; Jules Viard, ed., *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1932), VII: 8-9.

[401] Régine Pernoud, *La Reine Blanche* (Paris: A Michel, 1972), pp 27, 71-76. See letters at Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 97-99, nos. 1813-21.

[402] Pernoud, *La Reine Blanche*, pp 122-23. "et furent à ceste procession III roynes : madame Ysemburge jadis femme le roy Phelippe; madame Blanche femme le roy Loys; madame Berengiere femme le roy Jehan de Jherusalem." Viard, *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, p. 11.

[403] Pernoud, *La Reine Blanche*, pp 138-41; Richard, *Saint Louis: roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte*, pp 37-38.

the French court.[404] This was not an unusual practice. Blanche herself had spent her teenage years in the French court, raised not only with Louis VIII but also with Thibaut, future count of Champagne; Johanna and Margaret, daughters of Baudouin IX of Flanders; and Arthur, count of Brittany; and his sister Eleonor, children of Geoffroy Plantagenet.[405] This cohort lived in the court for different reasons—the king's desire to control an inheritance, to gain leverage over possible rivals, or to protect the subject children. Jean de Brienne's sons, however, did not inherit substantial lands nor did their father present a threat to the Capetians that could be controlled by holding his children. He entrusted his children to a kinswoman and ally while he set out on a final adventure to the East.

Jean de Brienne's French background and connections with the Capetians were not the only elements in his appeal to the Franks. His crusading history and close relationship with the papacy were well-known and important aspects of his selection. As noted above, in 1208, the barons of Jerusalem asked Philip Augustus to choose a husband for Maria, heiress to the kingdom. He pointed to Jean de Brienne, and Jean married Maria in 1210.[406] Maria died two years later, after giving birth to their daughter. Jean remained in power, ruling as regent for his daughter, in the face of

[404] Guillaume de Nangis claimed that Jean de Brienne sent his sons with Baudouin II. Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis et de ses continuateurs de 1113 à 1300 et les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, ed. H. Géraud (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1843), pp 187-88: "Misit etiam cum eodem tres filios suos, Alphonsum, Johanem et Ludovicum aetatis parvulos, regem Franciae deprecans Ludovicum, et piam ejus matrem Blancham reginam, cujus erant pronepotes, ut eos in clientes habere et recipere dignarentur." See Richard, *Saint Louis: roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte*, p. 164.
[405] Pernoud, *La Reine Blanche*, pp 29-30.
[406] "Eracles," pp 306-8.

opposition and resistance from the barons in the crusader kingdom.[407] In 1217, as the forces of the Fifth Crusade landed in Acre, Jean de Brienne participated in the crusader council that decided the progress of the crusade. His participation showcased his courage and his wisdom. His focus was on fortifying the kingdom's possessions and strengthening its position vis-à-vis its neighbors. Once sufficient forces arrived, he successfully urged the crusaders to focus on Egypt, the capture of which, he and others believed, would provide security for the kingdom and even make possible the recapture of Jerusalem itself. In Egypt, Jean de Brienne was chosen as the army's leader, although he was eventually, and disastrously, overshadowed by the papal legate Pelagius.[408] The constantly changing composition of the crusading army and its leadership made decision making an unwieldy process, and Jean de Brienne and Pelagius clashed.[409] The main disagreement was whether to accept the repeated offers of a lengthy and favorable truce from the Egyptians. Jean de Brienne strenuously advocated for the acceptance of such an agreement, although when overruled he continued to lead the crusading force in military actions. Finally, in early 1220, faced with new developments in Armenia and the ascendancy of Pelagius among the crusading body, Jean de Brienne returned to his own kingdom. In his absence, the crusading force remained in Damietta for over a year, unable to decide upon and undertake any unified action. In the early summer of 1221, Jean de Brienne returned to the crusading force to find it finally prepared to advance on the Egyptians. His condemnation of the plan made no impact. The advance was disastrous and left the

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[407] Bernard Hamilton, "King Consorts of Jerusalem and their Entourages from the West from 1186 to 1250," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft: Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. H. E. Mayer (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1997), pp 18-21.
[408] "Eracles," p. 329.
[409] *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, pp 426-28.

army trapped by the Nile and by the Muslim forces. Jean de Brienne assisted in negotiating a truce under much less favorable terms than the previous ones proposed. The crusade ended in failure, but Jean de Brienne had demonstrated strong judgment on military and diplomatic matters and had earned a reputation as a valiant soldier and a committed crusader. For the barons, Jean de Brienne's willingness to engage in diplomatic negotiations when military action was unproductive matched their own attitude. Here was a Westerner who already had a Frankish sensibility.

Jean de Brienne's close relationship with the papacy was the final element in his appeal to settlers in Constantinople, who relied on papal support and exhortations for Westerners to aid the Latin Empire. This relationship, formed in the crucible of the Holy Land, deepened after his son-in-law exiled him from Jerusalem.[410] When the struggle between the papacy and Frederick II broke out into open conflict**,** Jean de Brienne led papal forces in southern Italy against imperial possessions and then against the Western emperor himself.[411] Even after his selection as Robert's successor, Jean de Brienne remained in the West to continue the fight. Only once the conflict had ended, in 1230, with the reconciliation of Frederick II and Gregory IX, did the new emperor make plans to travel East.

When Jean de Brienne finally turned his attention toward the Latin Empire, he used his French background, his crusading career, and his papal ties to recruit men and materiel. He proceeded to France where he gathered men to accompany him to

[410] Arbois de Jubainville, *Catalogue d'actes des comtes de Brienne, 950–1356*, p. 30, no. 139. There are a number of contemporary accounts of Jean and Frederick's conflict. See, for example, Holder-Egger, "Chronicon S. Martini Turonensi," pp 470-76.
[411] Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, p. 196, no. 317. *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, pp 448-55; Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 925, ll 21-27. See the discussion in David Abulafia, *Frederick II: a Medieval Emperor* (London: The Penguin Press, 1988), pp 148-55.

Constantinople. His trip made an impression, appearing in several different sources.[412] Despite his expansive career in the East and in the service of the papacy, his ties to France remained powerful enough to make it a recruiting ground.

In support of this endeavor, Gregory IX wrote to the archbishop of Rheims in December 1229. [413] The choice of Rheims, of course, matches with Jean de Brienne's recruitment in France. The letter itself, announcing Jean de Brienne's new position, also suggests his strategy. It begins with the dangers to the Holy Land and the threat from the Muslims. It then asserts "so that, in the meantime, anxiously attending to help in the aforementioned business [the state of the Holy Land], we provide for the Latin Empire in every way that we can."[414] It plays on the crusading ideal by explicitly connecting the security of the Latin Empire with the reclamation of territories in the Holy Land. Furthermore, Gregory IX used both Jean's old and new titles, king of Jerusalem and emperor of Constantinople, respectively, emphasizing the connection between the two crusader states.[415] The schism with the Greeks does not feature in this call.

The selection of envoys to negotiate the agreement with Jean de Brienne reflected these strategies, suggesting that they may have originated as much in

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[412] Several sources report Jean's return to France. "Eracles," pp 379, 381: "et s'en ala en France li rois Johan" and "Ci vos dirons dou roi Johan, qui li avint quant il s'en fu alez en France." Richard of San Germano, "Chronica," p. 175, col. 1027, ll 3-6: "Rex quondam Iherosolimitanus de Francia rediens et de partibus ultramontanis uenit Perusium." Dandolo reports that "in kallendis augusti, parato Venetorum stolo, ille, cum exercitu, Constantinopolim navigat et imperator coronatus est." Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 292.

[413] J. van den Gheyn, "Lettre de Grégoire IX concernant l'empire latin de Constantinople," *Revue de l'Orient latin* IX (1902): 230-4**.** The letter does not appear in Auvray's register. It is reprinted in part in Wolff. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 1347-48, ftnt 24.

[414] van den Gheyn, "Lettre de Grégoire IX concernant l'empire latin de Constantinople," p. 231: "ut interim, iuvancia predictum negocium sollicite procurantes, succurramus modis quibus possumus imperio Romano."

[415] Ibid., p. 231-32: "karissimum in Christo filium nostrum (Iohannem) Iherosolimitanum regem illustrem in Imperatorem concorditer elegerunt."

Constantinople as in Europe. The barons had sent envoys—Jean, bishop of Madyta; Villain d'Aulnay; and Ponce de Lyon—who had plenary powers to negotiate with Jean de Brienne. Ponce de Lyon had travelled for the Latin Empire during Henri's reign, bringing relics and seeking aid in the West.[416] Villain d'Aulnay was presumably related to the Fourth Crusader Guillaume d'Aulnay, whose lands were in the royal domains and Champagne.[417] The inclusion of the bishop befits a mission sent to the papacy.

The general parameters for Jean de Brienne's succession and rule in Constantinople were established in a draft agreement of December 1228.[418] Here Wolff's accusation of incompetence, quoted earlier in this chapter, seems justified. The terms reflect Jean's concerns and desires, and not the Latin Empire's needs. Jean's imperial authority was complete. He was guaranteed the throne until his death, even after Baudouin II came of age. In fact, he would be the sole emperor, with Baudouin II holding the title of "imperator futurus." At the age of twenty, Baudouin II would inherit Nicaea, excepting lands that had been granted to barons and Nicomedia. He would then do homage to Jean for the lands he received. Not only did Jean have the right of use of imperial territory, but also he could bequeath to his heirs either the portion of the empire in Asia Minor or substantial lands in Greece and the Balkans. These lands were not in Latin hands at the time of Jean's ascension, and their delineation demonstrates the expectation that Jean would reconquer territory lost to the Greeks since Henri's death.[419] Throughout, the agreement protected Jean from what had happened to him in

[416] See p. 88 above
[417] Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp 120-21
[418] Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, p. 210-11, no. 141; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 265-70, no. CCLXXIII.
[419] For a more thorough summary and analysis of the agreement see Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 517-21. The text of draft agreement, copied in Ibid., pp 1337-39, ftnt 5.

Jerusalem: exile at the hands of his son-in-law. It was an extraordinary arrangement, in the concessions made to him and particularly in stipulating Baudouin II's inferior status. Until his father-in-law's death, Baudouin II held a position in the empire similar to that of the barons.

The final agreement with Jean de Brienne was concluded in April 1229. The final terms very closely matched those of the draft. The most substantial difference strengthened Jean's position even more. It stated that the agreement would hold even if Baudouin II or Marie were to die before the wedding took place. This addition raised the possibility that Jean could become emperor without the kin relationship to justify it.[420] It suggests the pressure the barons were under. Sent from Constantinople to solidify the agreement, the envoys were expected to bring back an emperor. According to the *Chronique d'Ernoul*, Jean was reluctant to accept the crown.[421] He held out for a guarantee that, once he committed to the Latin Empire, his position could not be taken from him.

The terms were probably negotiated with the pope's help. Gregory IX's confirmation of the agreement manifested his interest and revealed his presence at their conclusion.[422] The circumstances suggest that the pope pressured the barons to accommodate Jean's anxieties. Jean's exertions for the pope certainly earned him the pontiff's advocacy, and papal pressure could explain the barons' remarkable concessions. Support in the West for the Latin Empire was weak, but the barons had previously drawn Pierre II de Courtenay and then Robert to the East. They might well have persuaded another lord to come with fewer concessions. Notably, the agreement

[420] The final agreement is preserved in Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 265-70, no. CCLXXIII.
[421] *Chronique d'Ernoul et des Bernard le trésorier*, pp 470-71.
[422] Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 265-70, no. CCLXXIII.

with Jean de Brienne was far more detrimental to Baudouin II's position than was any proposed in the alliance with Asen, although it may have been more beneficial to the barons in assuring their continued dominance.

The barons and the Latin Empire received little in exchange for these generous terms. It took Jean de Brienne more than two years after the agreement to arrive in Constantinople.[423] Far from getting the aggressive and strategic soldier of the Fifth Crusade, the barons welcomed into Constantinople a man who, according to Philippe Mouskès, made "neither peace nor war."[424] Other contemporaries agreed with Mouskès's harsh assessment. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines dismissed Jean's accomplishments: "Indeed, King Jean acquired land over the Greeks but tepidly."[425] Jean's failures as a ruler encompassed not merely military endeavors but, as Mouskès's comment suggests, diplomatic ones as well. There were few signs of outreach to Constantinople's powerful neighbors—Nicaea, Bulgaria and Epiros. Even these few gestures, notably with Nicaea and Bulgaria, were not of Jean's own initiative. More surprisingly, despite Jean's connections, no appeal from him to the West for aid survives. Only late in his reign, when his son-in-law Baudouin II had reached an age to aspire to his future throne, did Jean send the imperial heir to the West, as much, perhaps, to remove a threat as to gain aid. Constantinople was a retirement position for Jean and, at least for the first few years, he treated it as such. Like Baudouin I and Robert, unlike Henri and Yolande, Jean never truly adjusted to his new environment. In

[423] Gregory IX wrote to the patriarch of Constantinople in May 1231 telling him to expect Jean de Brienne in August. Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, p. 417, no. 656.
[424] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, II: 613, ll 29030-34: "S'en fu alés li rois Jehans./Là ot esté ne sai qans ans,/Qu'il n'i ot pais faite ne gierre;/Ainc perdi priès toute la tiere."
[425] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 933, l 34: "Rex vero Iohannes super Grecos terram acquirebat sed tepide." See also Ibid., pp 938-39.

hindsight, it is apparent that the West lacked a deep interest in and commitment to the fate of the Latin Empire. With Bulgaria and Nicaea growing in power, however, the prospect of an emperor from the West, who would bring military and financial support and an unadulterated commitment to Frankish interests, was deeply appealing. That this promise did not come to pass is a different matter.

Diplomacy and Marriage in the Reign of Jean de Brienne

In bringing Jean de Brienne to Constantinople, the barons employed marriage in a new way. Instead of operating as part of an alliance with a neighbor, this marriage drew aid from the West. In choosing Marie over Helen, and Jean de Brienne over Asen, the barons of Constantinople abandoned previous strategies and focused on creating and making use of Western connections. In fact, the union between Baudouin II and Marie to Constantinople had more in common with the marriages arranged for the heiresses of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem than it did with previous Latin Empire marriages. In Jerusalem, a series of royal women—Melisende, Sybille, Isabelle, Marie, and Isabelle—all married outsiders.[426] As Phillips noted about the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, "the Frankish settlers might be capable of providing a spouse or regent but a western marriage carried the added possibilities that an influx of men and money might accompany the new arrival.[427] Jean, of course, was familiar with this pattern since it was through external marriage that he both gained and lost power in Jerusalem. The barons of Champagne were likewise aware of this possibility since their count, Henri, had married the queen of Jerusalem and abandoned his Western lands, remaining in the East until his death in 1197. Until the late 1220s, however, the Franks in

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[426] See pp 922-93 above for a discussion of the pattern of marriages in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.
[427] Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187*, p. 20.

Constantinople did not match requests for Western aid with marriage proposals. As will become apparent in succeeding chapters, Baudouin II and Marie's marriage marks a turning point in imperial marriage strategies, a turn toward the West for marriage partners. Jean himself was uninterested in arranging diplomatic marriages with his new neighbors, and his grandson was later proposed as a marriage partner for various Western princesses. Events would reveal the weakness of this new strategy.

The 1230s, in particular, were a time when external alliances were critical. The arrival of Jean de Brienne in 1231 coincided with a moment of strength for both Asen and Vatatzes. In 1230, Theodore Doukas's attack on Bulgaria ended in his defeat and blinding.[428] Asen recovered territory in Macedonia but did not attempt to take Thessaloniki. Instead, he supported Manuel, his son-in-law, in a successful bid to succeed Theodore.[429] Asen's defeat of Theodore and Manuel's succession in Thessaloniki left the Bulgarian tsar with a secure border.[430] Andrew, the king of Hungary, was Asen's father-in-law, and the two polities enjoyed good relations

[428] The timing of the attack of 1230, after the expiration of a year-long truce between Epiros and the Latin Empire, suggests that Theodore may have attacked Bulgaria as part of a strategy to capture Constantinople. In the 1220s, Theodore had moved against Bulgaria in preparation for an attack on Thessaloniki. In both cases, reducing the Bulgarian threat would remove a potential obstacle and open up the path to his target.

[429] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 109-11. Bredenkamp remarked on the catastrophe of Theodore's defeat: "For the all too short five years of Theodoros Doukas' rule as emperor of the Empire of Thessaloniki it seemed as if he was untouchable and unstoppable. Just as his career seemed to reach its acme it was cut short by the defeat at the hands of the Bulgars. Never again was Theodore to rule as emperor, nor the Empire of Thessaloniki to pose a substantial challenge within the field of international relations." Bredenkamp, *The Byzantine Empire of Thessaloniki (1224–1242)*, p. 153. There are several contemporary accounts of Theodore and Asen's conflict, which apparently made quite an impression: In Greek, Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 41-43, ch 25. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 178-79, ch 25. In the West, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 927; Richard of San Germano, "Chronica," p. 166, ll 31-32.

[430] Akropolites attested to the general peace of the Bulgarian-Thessaloniki border after Manuel's rise and attributed it to the kinship between Manuel and Asen. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 44, ch 26. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 182, ch 26.

throughout the 1230s.[431] In Asia Minor, Vatatzes had spent most of the later 1220s dealing with a Turkish threat on his border. In 1231, the Nicaean emperor and the Turkish sultan finally reached a peace agreement, one made appealing to both sides by threats posed by new actors in the region—the Khwarizmians and the Mongols in Asia Minor and Jean de Brienne in Constantinople.[432]

Although Asen and Vatatzes allied in the mid-1230s to present a serious threat to Constantinople, immediately after Jean de Brienne's arrival Vatatzes inclined toward the Franks rather than the Bulgarians. In 1232, Germanus, the patriarch in Nicaea, met Franciscan friars who were traveling through Asia Minor. Inspired by their piety, he wrote to the pope, lamenting the division of the church and raising the question of church union.[433] In his reply, Gregory IX also dwelt on the schism, urging the Greek church to obedience.[434] A second letter arrived with a papal delegation, consisting of two Dominicans and two Franciscans, in early 1234.[435] According to the friars'

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431 For Bela's summary of his relationship with Asen, in which he claimed Asen acted more as a subject than a friend, see Theiner, *VMH*, I: 170-71, no. 308. For Gregory IX's appeal to Bela to take arms against Asen see Ibid., I: 140-41, no. 248.

432 The threat from the Turks, particularly in the Meander valley, must have been significant. Vatatzes did not merely ignore Constantinople; he also did nothing to stop the spread of Epiros in Thrace and Greece. This was a marked contrast to his offensive actions there in the early 1220s. Langdon has analyzed a variety of different sources and his account of the conflict is found in Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor*, pp 2-20.

433 Giovan Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence and Venice, 1758), XXIII: 47-56. A Latin version of the correspondence is preserved in Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series (London, 1976), III: 448-55.

434 Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III: 460-66; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, XXIII: 55-59.

435 Text in Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III: 466-69; J. Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum* (Assis: Edizione Porziuncola, 1759), pp 103-5. Cataloged and summarized in Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, no. 1316; Potthast, *Regesta*, p. 787, no. 9198. Gill gives a thorough summary of the embassy and the various sources for it. Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400*, pp 65-72. See also Langdon's consideration of the implications for Byzantine ideas of imperial power and Wolff's earlier discussion. John S. Langdon, "Byzantium in Anatolian Exile: Imperial Viceregency Reaffirmed during Byzantino-papal Discussions at Nicaea and Nymphaion, 1234," in *Presence of Byzantium: Studies Presented to Milton V. Anastos in Honor of his Eighty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Andrew R. Dyck and Sarolta A. Takács (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1994), 197-233. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 545-49. The friars' account survives and is published in Paul G. Golubovich, "Disputatio Latinorum et

account, written after their mission, the Greeks insisted on opening debate on differences between the two churches, even though the friars were only authorized to deliver a papal message and not to conduct discussions or negotations. Nonetheless, they participated in conversations, although the two sides could not even agree on which issue was the most salient: The Latins focused on the problem of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, while the Greeks were primarily concerned with the *filioque* clause. Both sides avoided the most pressing issue, that of papal primacy. The Greeks called a council to discuss differences, but the friars refused to participate, since they were only *nuncii* and not *legati*, and returned to Constantinople, where they promised to await a written explanation and defense of the Greek position.

When the friars returned to Nicaea in April 1234, they had political as well as religious goals. The Greeks had renewed their request for Western participation in the council. Instructed by various figures in Constantinople, including Jean de Brienne, members of the chapter of Hagia Sophia, and the prelates in Constantinople, the friars left with a mandate to negotiate a one-year truce.[436] The Latin Empire had a pressing need for peace. In 1233, while Nicaea awaited the papal envoys, Jean de Brienne had led a failed offensive in Asia Minor that had no lasting benefits and only succeeded in turning Vatatzes's attention toward Constantinople.[437] The situation was quite

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Graecorum seu relatio apocrisariorum Gregorii de gestis Nicaeae in Bithynia et Nymphaeae in Lydia," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 12 (1919): 418-70.

[436] Ibid., p. 446: "Verum tamen ne talia nostra tantum attemptare videremus voluntate, capitulum Sancte Sophye et prelatos terre nec non et ipsum Imperatorem super hoc consuluimus negotio, qui omnes unanimiter idem nobis consuluerunt."

[437] For analysis see Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, 145-48; Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor*, p. 38; Langdon, "Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault," p. 128, ftnt 25; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 541-43. Contemporary accounts include Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 933, ll 34-35; "Eracles," p. 382. Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 47-48, ch 30. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 190, ch 30. See also the accounts preserved in Cesare Baronio and Odorico Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Rome, 1588), yr 1232 46-53

desperate, with the empire suffering from extreme poverty and threatened on all sides.[438] For the Franks, a truce was a higher priority than church union. The latter, in fact, might put the Latin Empire in greater danger. Vatatzes saw church union as a path to Greek restoration in Constantinople. He specifically asked the friars if reconciliation between the patriarch and the pope would result in the return of the patriarchal see to the Greeks.[439] He hoped that, once the schism was healed, the pope would step back from supporting the Latin Empire and allow him to reestablish Greek rule in Constantinople.

This query confirms the importance of papal support for the survival of the Latin Empire. If the pope did not always come through with practical support, his backing discouraged Constantinople's neighbors from attack. Church union held dangers for the Latin Empire. It would remove a central justification for the Western occupation of Constantinople in the view of the papacy. Here the interests of the papacy and the Latin Empire diverged. The Latin Empire's dependence on the appeal of the crusade meant that, if the pope withdrew his backing, even that promise (or threat) of Western military support would be gone. Vatatzes as well as the Franks understood that. For the Franks,

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and yr 1233 1-15. In 1233, Vatatzes was briefly distracted by a Venetian-backed revolt on Rhodes. For an agreement between the doge of Venice and the lord of Rhodes, see Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 319-22, no. CCLXXXIX. For mention of the lord of Rhodes allied with Vatatzes seeMartino de Canale, "Cronicon dei Veneti," *Archivio storico italiano* VIII (1845): 362, ch 81. As was frequently the case, "les Latins de Constantinople décidèrent d'attaquer les possessions côtières de Nicée sur la Propontide micrasiatique." Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p. 318.

[438] The friars provided a description of the situation of Constantinople. Golubovich, "Disputatio Latinorum et Graecorum," pp 445-46: "preterea terra Constantinopolis quasi destitua fuit omni presidio: dominus Imperator pauper erat. Milites stipendiarii omnes recesserunt. Naves Venetorum, Pisanorum, Aconitanorum et aliarom nationum parati fuerunt ad recedendum et quedam vero iam recesserent. Considerantes igitur terram desloatam, timuimus periculum quia in medio inimicorum terra illa sita est. Arsanus rex Bachorum ab Aquilone, Vatacius ab Oriente et Meridie, Emmanuhel circumdat eam ab Occidente et ideo proposuimus tractare de treugis inter Imperatorem Constantinopolitanum et Vatacium usque ad annum."

[439] Ibid., p. 445. See Langdon's analysis. Langdon, "Byzantium in Anatolian Exile," pp 213-14.

a truce, on the other hand, had the main secular benefit of union—peace—without the dangers. Temporary truces were a way of life for the Franks.

Despite this mandate, the conversation between the friars and the Greeks once again centered on religious disagreement. The friars ended their visit by anathemitizing the Greeks and dismissing them as heretics. They departed abruptly, apparently without paying their respects to the Nicaean patriarch, and they were chased by messengers from the emperor and patriarch.[440] The mission had ended in failure, antagonizing one of the Latin Empire's most powerful and dangerous neighbors. Encouraged by the exigencies of their situation, the Franks in Constantinople valued even a year-long truce. Neither Vatatzes nor the friars had such motivation and their conversation remained focused on the issues that divided them.

The friars' mission was the only substantial diplomatic endeavor during Jean de Brienne's reign, and the friars were sent by the pope in response to a Greek request. Although Jean de Brienne himself came to power through a marriage, no evidence of important political marriages or even negotiations for them survive from his reign. Jean de Brienne's neighbors did not share his reluctance to engage in these negotiations. In particular, marriage and the kin relationships it created were central aspects of Asen's diplomatic strategy. Asen valued his kin and the connection and affection that marriage wrought. He often acted in concert with his in-laws and supported them. In the 1220s, he had married a Hungarian princess and his daughters married into the Nicaean and Epirote ruling families.

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[440] Paul G. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano* (Florence: Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1906), p. 464. See Langdon, "Byzantium in Anatolian Exile," pp 227-28.

After the failure of the friars' mission, Vatatzes turned from the proposed rapprochement with the papacy to an alliance with Bulgaria, Constantinople's other great rival. Asen and Vatatzes's joint action presented the greatest threat to the Latin Empire since the beginning of Henri's reign. Both Asen and Vatatzes enjoyed internal security and peace with their neighbors. The Doukai were subdued under Asen's benevolent watch and Bela IV, the new king of Hungary, had no interest in attacking Asen, citing their familial relationship.[441] In Asia Minor, the truce between Nicaea and the Turks held. There was no other power to distract Asen and Vatatzes from an all-out attack on Constantinople. Their new political relationship was sealed with a marriage between Theodore II Lascaris, Vatatzes's son and heir, and Helen, Asen's daughter, who had once been proposed as a bride for Baudouin II. A joint Bulgaro-Nicaean attack on Latin lands immediately followed the wedding. In mid-1235, the combined forces were besieging Constantinople itself by both land and sea.[442] The alliance between Bulgaria and Nicaea required compromise. Vatatzes acknowledged and validated Asen's use of the title of emperor. The archbishopric of Trnovo was also raised to an autonomous patriarchate.[443] In return, the majority of conquered lands would be awarded to Nicaea. According to Akropolites, "the marriage connection and the friendship" made possible the goodwill and favors bestowed by Vatatzes on Asen and the Bulgarians.[444] No agreement that placed each party so much in the other's

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[441] Theiner, *VMH*, I: 308.
[442] Langdon, "Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault," pp 106-8. Asen was not present at the wedding. Vatatzes brought Helen and her mother to Lampsakos where the patriarch married the young couple.
[443] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 50-51, ch 33. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 194, ch 33. See the discussion in Ioannis C. Tarnanidis, "Byzantine-Bulgarian Ecclesiastical Relations during the Reigns of Ioannis Vatatzis and Ivan Asen II, up to the year 1235," *Cyrillomethodianum* 3 (1975): 28-52.
[444] Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 194, ch 33. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 51, ll 2-3, ch 33: "τοῦ κήδους ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς φιλίας."

power would be acceptable without a marriage, a fact recognized by Western observers as well.[445] In the end, however, neither the marriage nor the shared interests could keep this alliance together. It fell apart because the two sides shared a goal, one that did not allow compromise: the capture and control of Constantinople.

A variety of Greek and Latin writers documented the Bulgarian and Nicaean attacks on the Latin Empire in 1235 and 1236, including Akropolites, Dandolo, Mouskès, and Sanudo.[446] Wolff and Langdon have pieced together and recounted the events of these years.[447] After an initial successful campaign in Thrace in the spring and summer of 1235, Asen and Vatatzes led their combined forces to Constantinople. Jean de Brienne was spurred to action and led a small number of knights to an astounding victory.[448] At sea, the Venetians came to the rescue of Constantinople and soundly defeated the Greek fleet.[449] The assaulting force retreated, and Asen and Vatatzes spent several months consolidating their gains in Thrace. A second assault in the winter of 1235–1236 was countered with the aid of Italian fleets; Angelo Sanudo, the duke of the Archipelago; and Geoffroy II de Villehardouin, who was prince of the

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[445] Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," p. 73: "Ex praemissus autem Exagorarum Imperator quam plurimùm prouocatus, filiam suum in coniugem dedit Imperatori Graecorum, partium Orientis, qui ambo tali affinitate coniuncti contra Balduinum & Venetos terrâ mari'q; exercitibus praeparatis, deuictis'q; eorundem Balduini & Venetorum vrbibus propè in ibi, & ferè fortilitiis vniuersis, ei solùm vrbis Constantinopolis moenia remanserunt."

[446] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 50-52, ch 33. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 194, ch 33. Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 295; Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, pp 613-14, ll 29039-79; Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," p. 73.

[447] Langdon, "Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault"; Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 550-56.

[448] Akropolites recorded only that Asen and Vatatzes withdrew when the winter arrived. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 52, ch 33. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 195, ch 33. Western sources give a more detailed account of the battle and the Frankish victory. Gregory's letter to Bela of Hungary preserves a description of the action. Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, p. 218, no. 2872; Theiner, *VMH*, I: 140, no. 249. Mouskès praised Jean de Brienne's courage. Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, pp 613-16, ll 29039-29121.

[449] Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, p. 218, no. 2872; Theiner, *VMH*, I: 140, no. 249. Italian sources also describe the Venetian victory. Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 295; Canale, "Cronicon," pp 362-68, ch LXXX-LXXXV.

Morea, vassal of the Latin Emperor, and brother-in-law of the imperial heir Baudouin II.[450]

The Frankish defense of the city revealed both their potential for successful action and the fundamental weakness in their reliance on the West for support. The fleet aiding Constantinople conspicuously lacked any non-Italian, Western component. All of the parties, in fact, had a clear self-interest in or a political tie to the Latin Empire, or both. In particular, the Venetians had significant financial investments in the Latin Empire.[451] Genoa and Pisa had less at stake, but their participation might further open up the great city to their merchants. Some Genoese merchants had returned to the city after 1232 and might have encouraged their government to come to the city's defense.[452] Moreover, the three Italian city-states were enjoying a temporary period of peace and, therefore, had the freedom to send forces to Constantinople.

Geoffroy II de Villehardouin's actions cannot so easily be attributed to financial motives. Wolff explained Geoffroy's commitment with reference to the political relationship between the two polities:

> This extraordinarily loyal behavior may, I think, be regarded as another tribute to the effectiveness of the Emperor Henry's work. Twenty-seven years after Ravennika, where his father had sworn fealty to the Emperor, Geoffrey was still faithful to the vow, despite the fact that the Princes of Achaia were now far

[450] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," pp 938-39; Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, p. 620, ll 29238-45. For Sanudo's support, see Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 555-56.
[451] David Jacoby's numerous publications are central to our understanding of the Venetian presence in Constantinople. See, for example, Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers in Latin Constantinople (1204–1261): Rich or Poor?"; Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)"; Jacoby, "The Venetian Government and Administration in Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261: a State within a State"; David Jacoby, "Mutlilingualism and Institutional Patterns of Communication in Latin Romania (Thirteenth - Fourteenth Centuries)," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000-1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander Daniel Beihammer, Maria G Parani, and Christopher David Schabel, The Medieval Mediterranean 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 27-48.
[452] Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers in Latin Constantinople (1204–1261): Rich or Poor?," pp 198-99.

> richer and more powerful than their suzerains, and would have been able to flout their wishes with impunity.[453]

In line with his prior assessment of Henri's accomplishments, Wolff praised him to the exclusion of all others[454] Yet, Jean de Brienne and Baudouin II had, perhaps, Yolande as much as Henri to thank for Geoffroy's rescue of the city. According to the *Chronicle of Morea*, the marriage between the Courtenay and the Villehardouin families was pivotal to the alliance between Constantinople and the Morea. Agnès was still alive in the mid-1240s, and she and Geoffroy had provided a haven for her brother Robert in 1228.[455] Her loyalty might still have been engaged by her youngest brother, Baudouin II. Wolff also downplayed Geoffroy's self-interest. The Latin Empire was too weak to come to his aid, but it was a friendly actor in the region, and its continued existence provided a check to their common enemies and distracted them from the Franks in southern Greece.

According to Saulger, Geoffroy II de Villehardouin was not the only local ruler who came to the support of Constantinople. The duke of the Archipelago, Angelo Sanudo, twice sent ships to help relieve the attack.[456] The same political ties and self-interest that motivated Villehardouin likely lay behind Sanudo's assistance. Despite his Venetian origins, Marco Sanudo became Henri's vassal for the islands of the Archipelago in 1207.[457] Angelo, his son, had renewed this allegiance to Robert, Jean de Brienne, and Baudouin II. The Archipelago also drew closer to the Morea and

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[453] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 555.
[454] See pp 107-9 above for a discussion of the *Chronicle of the Morea*'s account of the marriage.
[455] Baudouin II referred to her as living in a charter of 1247. AN, J 509, no. 2, published in Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 11-12, no. 3604.
[456] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 555-56.
[457] William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (London: John Murray, 1908), p. 570.

eventually was placed under the prince's suzerainty by Baudouin II.[458] The duke's participation might have extended beyond military support to negotiations of a two-year truce between Jean de Brienne and Vatatzes, although Saulger is the only source to attest to the treaty.[459] By 1262, Angelo Sanudo had married the daughter of Macaire de Saint-Ménéhould, apparently in the imperial palace.[460] It is tempting to think that this marriage either helped cause Sanudo's support of Constantinople in the mid-1230s or was a result of that support—a reward.

Following the second siege of Constantinople, Asen withdrew from his alliance with Vatatzes and resumed communication with the pope. In May 1236, Gregory IX threatened to excommunicate him if he continued to ally with Vatatzes and attack Constantinople.[461] Over the ensuing year, however, Gregory IX and Asen continued communicating and must have made some progress in negotiations because, when a papal envoy was sent to the Bulgarian capital a year later, no mention was made of excommunication.[462] Asen had already demonstrated a willingness to switch between Greek and Roman ecclesiastical authorities depending on his diplomatic needs.[463] He did not welcome excommunication, but his overtures to the pope were more a product of political circumstances than of religious anxiety. Vatatzes's increasing strength and

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[458] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, p. 176; Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)*, p. 574.
[459] For an evaluation of this possibility, see Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 555-57.
[460] Marino Sanudo, "Istoria del regno di Romania," in *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, ed. Carl Hopf, 1873, p. 115: "Ivi andò la Madre de Miser Marco Sanudo, la qual fù Figlia de Miser Machario di Santo Montalto di Campagna di Franza, che fù gran Baron dell' Imperio, ed essa era stata maritata in Palazzo del detto Imperator Latino, la qual donò gran presenti al detto Imperator Balduin e ad alcuni Nobili Huomini e Nobili Madonne, ch' erano con lui." See Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)*, p. 574.
[461] Theiner, *VMH*, p. 144, no. CCLV. Catalogued in Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, p. 694, no. 3156.
[462] Theiner, *VMH*, pp 155-58, nos. CCLXXV-CCLXXVII, CCLXXIX, CCLXXX.
[463] Tarnanidis, "Byzantine-Bulgarian Ecclesiastical Relations during the Reigns of Ioannis Vatatzis and Ivan Asen II, up to the year 1235," pp 28-52.

continued success threatened Asen.[464] With his defeat of Theodore Doukas, Asen regained Bulgarian territory in the Balkans, which had been under the control of Thessaloniki. But Vatatzes, as well, held Thracian land and had a base of support there.[465] As the inscription at the church in Trnovo makes clear, Asen desired and expected to be lord of Constantinople. Certainly, Vatatzes sought the same prize. The alliance, however convenient, must have been fraught. Having made gains in Thrace, Asen probably considered that further advances would bring him into conflict with Vatatzes.

An obstacle impeded Asen's withdrawal from the agreement: his daughter's marriage to Theodore Lascaris and her continued residence with her husband in Greek territory. Accordingly, while he was corresponding with the pope, Asen wrote to Vatatzes, requesting that Vatatzes return Helen to her natal family, purportedly for a brief visit. With hindsight, Akropolites attributed to Vatatzes and his wife Eirene an understanding of Asen's true agenda—to break the alliance. Despite this, they agreed to return Helen, trusting in God to punish the tsar should he withdraw from the agreement. The scene of Helen's reunification with her father is pitiful: "[H]e proceeded towards Trnovo, his daughter crying and lamenting all the while and greatly bewailing the separation from her mother-in-law, the empress Eirene, and her husband."[466] Helen and Theodore's marriage was not merely a political alliance; it

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464 Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 52, ch 34. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 198, ch 34.
465 Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor*, pp 6-7.
466 Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 198, ch 34. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 53, ll 15-17, ch 34. "ἐχώρει περὶ τὸν Τρίνοβον, κλαιούσης μὲν τῆς αὐτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ὀλοφυρομένης καὶ τῆς πενθερᾶς καὶ βασιλίδος Εἰρήνης καὶ τοῦ συζύγου λίαν ἐποδυρομένης τὸν χωρισμόν." For the Cumans' military prowess see Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000– c. 1300*.

created emotional ties, ones that went beyond romance. Helen was nine years old and Theodore eleven at the time of their marriage and "they were raised and educated by the empress Eirene as she had a good nature and was of a kindly disposition."[467] With her marriage, Helen had entered into a new network of family and culture. Like Agnès of France, who also married into a foreign culture at a young age, Helen did not want to leave her marital family and culture for her natal one.

Helen's return was followed by Asen's decoupling from Nicaea, albeit briefly. In 1237, he concluded a treaty with the Latins and the Cumans, a people who had been mercenaries in armies across the Balkans and Asia Minor and recently attacked Tzouroulos, a Nicaean possession to the west of Constantinople. During the siege, Asen received word of the death of his wife, Maria of Hungary; one of their sons; and the bishop of Trnovo. He interpreted this tragedy as evidence of divine disapproval of his actions and abandoned his alliance with the Latin Empire. Helen returned to her husband and the agreement between Bulgaria and Nicaea was reinstated, although the original enthusiasm for joint action was never recovered.[468] Asen lacked commitment to the renewed alliance. He granted safe passage to Baudouin II when the latter returned from the West and, according to Akropolites' account, committed other, minor infractions of his agreement with Vatatzes, although the nature of the transgressions is not specified.[469]

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[467] Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 191, 197, ch 31, 34. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 52, ll 13-15, ch 34: "ἀνήγοντο δὲ παρὰ τῆς βασιλίδος Εἰρήνης καὶ ἐπαιδεύοντο, οἷα ἐκείνη φύσεως ἀγαθῆς τυχοῦσα καὶ πρὸς ἅπαν καλὸν ἐπινεύουσα."
[468] See analysis in Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 125-26, nos. 87-88. Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 54-56, ch 36. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 200-1, ch 36. Gardner argues, in the absence of hard evidence, that circumstantial references point to Helen and Theodore's marriage as a happy one. Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, pp 202, text and ftnt 3.
[469] Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 60, ll 4-9, ch 37: "ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης καὶ αὖθις μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσὰν εἰρήνην εἶχε, καὶ τῇ συγγενείᾳ καὶ ἄμφω συνεδέδεντο, οὐκ ἀκριβῶς μὲν τοῦ Ἀσὰν τὰς ἐνόρκους

For his own second marriage, Asen turned to his Greek neighbor and married Eirene, the daughter of Theodore Doukas. In doing so, he ignored the rules concerning degrees of consanguinity; the marriage was prohibited since her uncle, Manuel, was married to Asen's illegitimate daughter.[470] His marriage to Eirene corresponded to a change in Bulgarian foreign policy. The tsar released Theodore Doukas, his new father-in-law, and supported his attempt to reclaim Thessaloniki from his brother, and Asen's son-in-law, Manuel. This was a complete about-face from Asen's position earlier in the decade when he had blinded Theodore Doukas and supported Manuel's bid for power. Akropolites was explicit in describing Asen's motivation for supporting Theodore: "Asan was more fond of his father-in-law Theodore than [of] his son-in-law Manuel; for he loved his wife Eirene exceedingly, no less than Antony did Cleopatra."[471] Marriage did not create unbreakable ties, however, as is apparent in his dealings with Vatatzes and Manuel. When Theodore, with Asen's backing, overthrew his brother and exiled him to Asia Minor, Manuel's wife was returned to her father, Asen, as her sister Helen had been.[472] This joint dissolution of kin and political connections emphasizes their correlation.

συμφωνίας φυλάττοντος: ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε διὰ κέρδος μικρὸν παρεσπόνδει. τέως οὖν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ καὶ πλατυκῶς ἔστεργε τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐποίει." Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 206, ch 37: "But the emperor John was again at peace with the emperor Asan and both were bound by their kinship, even though Asan did not strictly observe the agreements made on oath. For there were times when, for a small gain, he broke them. However, in-between times, he publicly and generally showed affection and did what was required of friends."

[470] Akropolites noted this transgression. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 60, ch 38. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 206, ch 38.

[471] Translation from Ibid., p. 207, ch 38. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 61, ll 11-14, ch 38: "ὁ δ' Ἀσὰν τὸν πενθερὸν μᾶλλον ἐφίλει Θεόδωρον ἢ τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ Μανουήλ: ὑπερηγάπα γὰρ τὴν σύζυγον Εἰρήνην οὐχ ἧττον ἢ Ἀντώνιος τὴν Κλεοπάτραν." Macrides notes that Akropolites speaks of romantic love only in relation to barbarians or to emperors in their affection for their mistresses. Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 210, ftnt 10.

[472] Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 61, ch 38. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 207, ch 38.

These developments can be taken to reflect on the Franks in several ways. They reveal the willingness of the Franks' neighbors, especially the Bulgarians, to enter into alliances and marriages with neighbors and embark on joint action. For Asen, at least, kinship and the political association were intimately connected. He acted in concert with his son-in-law and fathers-in-law. For Bela, as well, marriage was the excuse, if not the genuine reason, for remaining in peaceful relations with Asen. The proposed marriage between Baudouin II and Marie, or some other marriage accompanying an alliance, might have brought just such peace to the Latin Empire. Yet, these marriages were not indissolvable. Far from it, they were often the casualties of changing political allegiances: When one dissolved, so did the other. Marriage mattered, but the bonds created by it were breakable. A marriage uniting the Franks and Bulgarians could also have suffered this fate. Furthermore, the Asen-Vatatzes attack and the collapse of joint action demonstrated these rulers' desire to control Constantinople and the difficulty of sustaining alliances between parties competing for control over the great city. Under these circumstances, perhaps the temporary truces adopted by the barons were the most practical, if makeshift approach. Most of all these developments reveal the complex relationships among the Franks' neighbors, relationships better negotiated by barons steeped in the local circumstances than by Western popes and new emperors.

A Crusade

Under Jean de Brienne, the Latin Empire stepped back from the baronial policy of local alliances. The threat posed by Asen and Vatatzes did not go unrecognized, however. In 1234, Gregory IX had announced a crusade to the Holy Land and begun a preaching and recruitment program. In late 1235, upon hearing of the attack on

Constantinople, Gregory IX called for the crusade to be redirected to aid the Latin Empire. The crusade appeals were directed to the French barons, particularly any Courtenay relatives, and the Hungarians.[473] With this focus, the pope returned to the two strategies considered by Frankish barons after Henri's death in 1216. France, as the source of many original and later settlers in the Latin Empire, including the current emperor and his heir, had already proven itself a fertile recruiting ground. For its part, Hungary remained the Franks' closest, nonaggressive, Rome-affiliated neighbor. Gregory IX's appeals and their failure highlight both the links between the Latin Empire and other polities and the weakness of these connections.

There is no evidence that any French reinforcements participated in the defense of Constantinople in 1235–1236. It is unrealistic, however, to expect their appearance in the East so soon. Preparation for a crusade could take years, and even had the crusaders been eager to go to Constantinople, they would not have made it in time for the battle against Asen and Vatatzes in 1235–1236. The full expression of Gregory IX's efforts to divert crusaders to the Latin Empire in the late 1230s happened after Jean de Brienne's death and will be dealt with in the following chapter. I will undertake a more detailed analysis of the pope's language, methods, and, eventually, failure there.[474]

Despite Jean de Brienne's connections in the West, his reign did not witness increased support from France. Nor did he appear to seek it after his initial recruitment trip. The only correspondence seeking aid during his reign came from the pope. There is no evidence, as exists from Henri's and Robert's reign, for communications with

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[473] For a history of the Barons' Crusade see Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: a Call to Arms and its Consequences*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).
[474] See pp 175-83 below.

Western secular rulers until 1236. In that year, Jean de Brienne sent Baudouin II, who was nearing his twentieth year, to seek aid from Western courts. This trip would set the tone for Baudouin II's reign and marked the first of a series of appeals to Western powers, particularly the Capetians. It was a pivotal moment in the approach of the Latin Empire toward garnering support. Yet this new break was not necessarily a sign of a new attitude from Jean de Brienne. Baudouin II's mission was in response to the attack on Constantinople and the increased threat that the alliance between Bulgaria and Nicaea presented. Jean de Brienne might have had other motives as well. The imperial heir was nearing his twentieth birthday, at which point he would inherit lands in Asia Minor and become, for these lands, the emperor's vassal. The situation of the empire meant that his territorial base would be very small, but his corresponding entrance into imperial political life would have increased his capacity to challenge Jean's power. Mindful of his expulsion from Jerusalem, Jean chose to send away a possible threat to his power. It is to Europe, and Baudouin II's attempts there to gather an army and support for his inheritance, that this study now turns.

CHAPTER 5

CRUSADE, LAND AND KINSHIP, 1236–1243

In his history of the Latin Empire, Jean Longnon devoted a mere nine pages to the last two decades of the empire, the reign of Baudouin II.[475] Robert Wolff reserved his most dismissive language for these years: "[A] few miserable Latins clung precariously to the depopulated capital city."[476] According to him, the true question for historians is "why the Empire held out as long as it did instead of falling to its enemies at some earlier time."[477] Unsurprisingly given his attitude toward the Latin Empire and its principals, Wolff's answer is lodged not in any positive action taken by the Franks, but instead in the various distractions that prevented Constantinople's neighbors from launching an all-out attack on the city. The sad state of the empire during its final years is impossible to dispute. A variety of sources, including Baudouin II's own letters, attest to its poverty and other dangers it faced. Both Longnon and Wolff, however, devoted little space and analysis to the creative efforts made by the Franks to secure their position. Appeals to the West and negotiations with Eastern powers marked the quarter century between Jean de Brienne's death and the Greek reconquest of the city. In each of these areas, Baudouin II and his surrogates displayed a willingness to adopt new strategies in order to strengthen their hold on Constantinople. That these actions proved dramatically insufficient against the threats to the Latin Empire should not deter

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[475] Longnon stopped his history of the empire proper in 1259, two years before its fall. The events of 1259–1261 are placed in the history of the Morea. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 178-86.
[476] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 561.
[477] Ibid., p. 562.

an appreciation of their creativity or a consideration of their meaning for the changing identity of the Franks in Constantinople.

Baudouin II is, in many ways, the center of this dissertation. Of all the individuals whose personalities and actions are preserved in the record, he is the most visible example of a Frank born and raised in Constantinople. He was also far more involved than his predecessors with Western affairs and politics. As such, his reign provides multiple sites of interest for the questions of how the Franks dealt with their Western relatives and supporters and vice versa.

The pattern of documentation for Baudouin II's reign is, as for the entire history of the Latin Empire, spotty. The richest record originates from the early years, particularly his visit to the West in the late 1230s, when documents and narrative sources chronicled his activities and interactions with others. Correspondence with the Capetians gives historians precious mooring in the early 1240s, providing information about Baudouin II himself and events in the Latin Empire. Baudouin II's involvement in peace negotiations between Frederick II and Innocent IV and his attendance at the Council of Lyon permit an elaboration of his relationship with these two men and the offices they filled. The last fifteen years of the empire, however, have left only snippets of information. The most important and reliable Western narrative sources, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines and Philippe Mouskès, break off in the early 1240s, and the death of Gregory IX in 1241 ended his extensive correspondence with and about the Latin Empire. Akropolites, who by the 1240s was in the service of the Nicaean emperor and was providing a first hand account of many events, was far more interested in Nicaean relations with the Bulgarians and other Greeks and internal developments, especially the

rise of Michael Palaiologos, than the Latin Empire. The empress Marie's lengthy sojourn in the West, which began in 1248, has left few traces. As this list, with its absence of internal sources, suggests, the surviving record favors external relations. Very little can be said with any certainty about the domestic affairs of the Latin Empire during this period.[478] Despite these lacunae, much of the extant documentation bears directly on the interests of this study: the relationship of the Frankish barons with Europe and their attempts to deal with their neighbors through marriage alliances and other mechanisms.

Baudouin II in the West: Crusade, Land, and Kin

In 1236, as Baudouin II reached his majority, Jean de Brienne sent him to the West to seek aid. He was originally supposed to return in the spring of 1238 but remained in the West more than a year after that deadline, despite receiving word of his father-in-law's death in late 1237.[479] Baudouin II's first stop was Rome, where he arrived in late 1236. He did not remain there long but quickly travelled to Paris and then to Namur, where he remained for almost a year. In the spring of 1238, he briefly visited England seeking aid. In the last year of his stay, he spent time governing his lands in Namur and visiting Louis IX in France and the pope in Rome. In each of these locales, he sought funds and support. Although the aid he gathered in the West was often provisional, his trip was, overall, a success as he forged personal and political relationships and gathered enough money and men for two armies.

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[478] Hendrickx's institutional studies reflect this lack of information about events in the Latin Empire during the later period. Benjamin Hendrickx, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): le pouvoir imperial (l'empereur, les regents, l'imperatrice)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974): 85-154; Benjamin Hendrickx, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): la cour et les dignitaires," *Byzantina* 9 (1977): 187-217.

[479] Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 805-6, nos. 3939, 3940.

The themes of crusade, lordship, and kinship marked Baudouin II's sojourn in the West. During his almost three-year stay, he acted in both of his public personas: as the heir to a crusading empire and as a Western noble. He sought and obtained support for the Latin Empire but also established himself, through personal and feudal relationships, as a participating member of the Western aristocracy. In the end, however, his involvement in Western society highlighted his commitment to his Eastern empire. Upon his departure and afterward Baudouin II leveraged his identity as a French noble in order to raise money and men for the aid of Constantinople. His actions demonstrated time and again that his territory in the East mattered far more to him than did his possessions in the West.

In Rome, he enlisted the Latin Empire's greatest ally, Gregory IX, who employed one of the papacy's greatest tools, the crusade, on his behalf. Already, in December 1235, in response to a desperate missive from Jean de Brienne, Gregory IX had ordered the redirection of the crusade to aid Constantinople.[480] Baudouin II's arrival again encouraged Gregory IX who, in the late 1230s, sent off a flurry of communications directing the crusaders away from the Holy Land and harnessing their resources for the Latin Empire. Letters seeking support for Baudouin II's cause went to prelates in France, Greece, and Hungary; to Asen, Béla IV, and several French nobles; and to Louis IX.[481] An overly optimistic letter to Vatatzes warned him of the crusade gathering in the West and advised him not to attack Jean de Brienne but instead to aid the Franks in Constantinople.[482]

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[480] Ibid., col 218, nos. 2872-79.
[481] Ibid., col 497, 512-13, 521-22, nos. 3362, 3395, 3408-9.
[482] Ibid., no. 3292. Full text is published in V. Grumel, “L'authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée, au Papae Grégoire IX,” *Échos d'Orient*, no. 160 (1930): 450-458. See also Norden,

Despite the pontiff's strenuous efforts, the Western response to pleas for aid was decidedly mixed. In December 1235, Gregory IX wrote to Béla, his brother Coloman, and important Hungarian ecclesiastics about the crusade.[483] The Hungarian kings had a complex relationship with Rome. Béla's father, Andrew II, had frequently been in trouble with the papacy and its representatives, the central problems being the king's treatment of clerics and his apparent preference for Jews and Muslims in public office.[484] The father and son, however, had not always had a good relationship, and Honorius III intervened when Andrew II tried to force Béla to separate from his wife in order to contract a new marriage alliance.[485] The appeal came at a difficult time for Béla. Earlier in 1235, Andrew took the cross to go to the Holy Land and Gregory IX granted the king a variety of crusading privileges. Just three weeks later, Andrew died and Béla inherited the throne. Immediately following his official succession, Béla embarked on a project to restore royal power and reclaim grants made during Andrew's reign.[486] This agenda earned him enemies among the Hungarian barons.

For several years Gregory IX persisted in attempts to persuade Béla to join with the Franks in Constantinople. Béla refused to commit to an expedition, but avoided a flat-out denial to the pope. In 1238, the king composed a lengthy response to the pope's exhortations. He did not linger on his political problems. Instead, the letter spoke of his kin relationships with the rulers of Bulgaria and Nicaea and the difficulties attendant

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Das Papsttum und Byzanz, pp 751-52. Vatatzes's response, which may not have been sent, was scathing and precise in its derision. Grumel, "L'authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée, au Papae Grégoire IX"

[483] Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 218, nos. 2872-76.

[484] Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000– c. 1300*, pp 149-89; Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, pp 101-2, 112-13.

[485] See the letters preserved in Theiner, *VMH*, I: 42, 44-45, nos. LXXXV, XC-XCV. Béla and his wife fled Hungary for several years in order to escape Andrew's pressure.

[486] Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, pp 121-24.

on crusade.[487] Béla was married to Marie, Theodore Lascaris's daughter. He had demonstrated his loyalty to her in the early 1220s when he defied his father and refused to set her aside. A corresponding reluctance to enter into open conflict with her brother-in-law is not surprising. His sister was John Asen's wife. His language was explicit about the closeness of these connections.[488] He also referred to his friendship with Asen, which extended above and beyond their kin relationship. Only for the church and in pursuit of salvation, declared Béla, would he transgress these relationships and attack Asen. Gregory IX's response made substantial concessions to Béla, including placing the crusading army under the king's control and absolving him of a prior excommunication, although he did not entirely yield to the king's extensive demands, refusing the request to grant Béla authority to establish the ecclesiastical structure in conquered territories. Even this was a minor issue, since Béla would be able to appoint a bishop to exercise the powers of apostolic legate.[489] Béla continued to delay, and soon the arrival of the Mongols on Hungary's eastern border overcame all these concerns and crusading plans. The decimation of Hungarian forces in 1241 left Béla without resources to aid the Latin Empire, even had he suddenly been inspired to do so.

In December 1235, Gregory IX sent targeted appeals to Thibaut IV, count of Champagne and king of Navarre, and the archbishop of Sens, along with a more general one to French prelates.[490] Champagne and Sens were both logical choices. The Champenois nobility had been tied to the Latin Empire from its inception, a connection

[487] Theiner, *VMH*, I: 170-71, no. 308.
[488] Ibid., I: 170, no. 308: "Ex inclite enim recordacionis sorore nostra filium habet et heredem, et nostris iussionibus sic in omnibus est subiectus, ut non tam amicus, quam subditus videatur: ex cuius impugnacione omnium amicorm et cognatorum quos hactenus habeamus in partibus Romanie, offensam incurremus. Watacius enim nostram neptem suo filio duxit in uxorem, et nostre Karissime consortis, Regine Hungarie, frater existit tanta nobis devocione coniunctus."
[489] Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century*, pp 126-27.
[490] Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 218, nos. 2877-79.

renewed with the accession of Jean de Brienne. Thibaut IV was the posthumous son of Thibaut III, an original leader of the Fourth Crusade. Auxerre, the Courtenay possession, was in the archbishopric of Sens. As Honorius III did in his correspondence with Blanche, Gregory IX focused his appeal on Baudouin II's relatives, who might be inclined to help their kinsman. In his letter to Thibaut, the pope directed the count-king's recruitment efforts toward this likely pool. Specifically, "he should admonish effectively the noble man Erard de Chacenay and other relatives of the emperor of Constantinople and noble man Baoudouin."[491] Gregory IX's reference here is almost certainly to Erard II de Chacenay.[492] Both Erard II's kin ties and his career marked him as a good prospect for recruitment. His kin circle contains many names that will already be familiar to readers of this study. He was the son of Erard I de Chacenay and Mathilde de Donzy, a relative of Pierre II's son-in-law. His grandmother was Agnès de Brienne, Jean de Brienne's aunt.[493] His wife, Emeline de Broyes, was the widow of a Fourth Crusader. Erard II, his father Erard I, and his grandfather Jacques I were all crusaders. In fact, Erard II had already fought with Jean de Brienne at Damiette in the Fifth Crusade and they appeared together in a charter in 1223 or 1224.[494] There is no record of his making a commitment to aid the Latin Empire, but his death in 1236 leaves unresolved the question as to whether he intended to do so. Gregory IX's

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491 Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, 218, n. 2877: "nobilem virum Herardum de Chatenai et alios consanguineos imperatoris Constantinopolitani et nobilis viri Balduini efficaciter moneat."

492 Theodore Evergates's new book on the Champenois aristocracy has made this and many other identifications far easier with his extensive research and helpful prosopographical notes. For the following information on Erard II, see Theodore Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 219, appendix D.

493 See Ibid., pp 253, 261, appendix E and Arbois de Jubainville, *Recherches sur les premières années de Jean de Brienne, roi de Jérusalem, empereur de Constantinople*, p. 235.

494 Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, p. 308.

mention of Erard II demonstrates his belief that kinship and crusading remained the strings that connected the Latin Empire to France.

As part of his first push for aid for the Latin Empire, the pope authorized the commutation of the vows of four hundred crusaders, who had sworn to go to the Holy Land, and their redirection to the Latin Empire.[495] In a letter to his representative, he eschewed the language of kinship and presented the crusade to Constantinople in relation to the Holy Land. He acknowledged the state of the Holy Land, "in the hands of pagans," and moved quickly on to the plight of the Latin Empire, describing the threat posed by Asen and Vatatzes in great detail and referring to them as "schismatics."[496] This account was calculated to horrify the letter's audience, relating the capture of Gallipoli and the massacre of the inhabitants, the brave offensive of Jean de Brienne, and the new attack on the city "with endless thousands of soldiers."[497] After (hopefully) rousing the sympathies of his correspondents, Gregory IX noted that the "preservation of this empire especially relates to the promotion of help for the Holy Land," which was dependent on the crusaders' ability to pass through the land of the Latin Empire unimpeded.[498] As a result, the crusaders should be encouraged to go to the aid of the Latin Empire, for which service they would receive the same remission of sins had they gone to the Holy Land.

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495 Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 218, no. 2879; Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, p. 179-80, no. 185.
496 Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, p. 179: "olim Terra Sancta in manibus Paganorum" and "Vatacius et Affanus scismatici nuper inter se iniquitatis inito foedere."
497 Ibid.: "cum infinitis armatorum millibus."
498 Ibid., p. 180, no. 185: "quod ipsius conservatio Imperii specialiter pertinet ad promotionem subsidii Terrae Sanctae, de qua non nisi per partes Romaniae liber reditus peregrinorum habetur; et si, quod absit, dictum Imperium dominio Graecorum, qui magis Latinos odiunt, quam Pagani, subjicitur, de facili ejusdem Terrae dissidium sequeretur."

Papal hopes for the participation of Thibaut IV de Champagne, a distant relative of Baudouin II's, never came to fruition.[499] Gregory IX withheld funding from Thibaut until December 1238, trying to compel him to participate in the expedition to Constantinople, to no avail.[500] Only one great lord, Pierre de Bretagne, agreed to go to Constantinople. Gregory IX announced his position at the head of the future army in October 1236, but this commitment, at first so promising, dissolved.[501] The count objected to serving under the leadership of Baudouin II, believing himself better suited to lead an army than was the young and unproven emperor from the East.[502]

The greatet asset Gregory IX was able to provide Baudouin II, and perhaps the most needed, was money. In many parts of Europe, most particularly in England, the pope focused on redeeming vows for money, which could then be used to aid Constantinople.[503] In addition to advocating for the redemption of vows, he initiated several levies on the clergy of the Morea, levies that the clergy resisted.[504] The Latin Empire also benefited from Louis IX's seizure of outstanding debts owed by Christians to Jews in 1227. The pious king did not want to benefit from usury and so he proposed, in 1234, to reduce the amount of the debts by one-third to ensure that he was only

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[499] Thibaut IV and Baudouin II were both descended from Louis VI. Marriages also created connections between the two men and Baudouin II's father-in-law, Jean de Brienne, had once been close to and perhaps courting Thibaut IV's mother, Blanche de Champagne.

[500] For a description of Gregory IX's efforts toward Thibaut IV see Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: a Call to Arms and its Consequences*, pp 100-12.

[501] Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 497-98, no. 3363.

[502] Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: a Call to Arms and its Consequences*, pp 117-24.

[503] For Gregory IX's efforts to raise money see Ibid., pp 121-24, 136-38. Gregory IX's efforts to encourage the redemption of vows and to regulate the use of the funds is well-documented. Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 786-87, no. 3907; col 804, no. 3936; col 806, no. 3941; col 807-8, nos. 3944-45; col. 853-54, nos. 4028-29; col 954-55, no. 4206; nos. 4265-66, 4316, 4527, 4533, 4605-22, 4635, 5075, 5296, 5305, 6089. See also Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, pp 237, 240, nos. 256, 261 and Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, p. 753, no. IX.

[504] A number of documents track Gregory IX's efforts to raise money from the Latin clergy in Greece. Reports reached him that the clerics were arguing that funds outside of Greece should be exempt and that the archbishop of Patras had fled Greece, taking monies with him. Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 47, no. 4546.

collecting the principal. Debtors who had already satisfied their debt to the king were due a refund of this third. Some debtors, however, could not be found, and Gregory IX wrote to Louis IX advising the allocation of their portions to aid the Latin Empire.[505] In urging crusaders to redeem their vows and prescribing other fund-raising efforts, Gregory IX sought to raise money to hire mercenaries. The Latin Empire's extreme poverty, attested in diverse sources, made monies in hand more useful to Baudouin II than was the promise of Western soldiers who might not make it to the city or, if they did, might descend into squabbles or insist on showy but essentially useless forays. These funds could permit the hire of soldiers, perhaps even the Latin mercenaries who were found in Turkish and Greek armies during the thirteenth century.

In late 1237, Baudouin II received news from Constantinople that the city was in dire straits.[506] Since the death of Jean de Brienne, the Franks had been under attack. Food was running short, and men were fleeing the city. If Vatatzes focused his attacks and besieged the city again, the barons reported, there might not be enough men to defend its walls.[507] In response, in the spring of 1238, Baudouin II sent the accumulated crusading forces under the leadership of Jean de Béthune, who had relevant connections and experience in both the East and the West. He was probably related to Conon de Béthune, who had been on the Fourth Crusade and twice acted as *bailli* of the empire.[508] More important, he was an experienced soldier who could be

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[505] Ibid., col 1169-70, no. 4601. For a discussion of the *captio* and Louis IX's attempts to collect the debts see William Chester Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: from Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp 129-34.
[506] Gregory IX used this account as reason for the levy on clergy in Greece. Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 858-60, no. 4035.
[507] See the account in Gualterius Cornutus, "Historia susceptionis Corone spinee," in *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Comte Paul Riant, vol. 2 (Paris: CTHS, 2004), pp 49-50.
[508] For a summary of Conon's career in Constantinople see Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp 146-49.

trusted to direct the army effectively, having participated vigorously in the defense of the city in 1235.[509] His reputation evoked the glory of the crusade and the heroic defense of the city. His appeal to the crusaders, however, reached beyond his military reputation. His roots in Artois tapped into a regional loyalty awakened by Baudouin II's renewed contacts with his Western lands. The exact composition of this force is unknown, but Baudouin II had spent most of 1237 in France and the Low Countries and probably recruited men from his familial lands in Namur and Courtenay and the surrounding regions. The choice of Jean de Béthune provided them with a leader from their own cultural milieu.

Despite Baudouin II's preparations, this initial force floundered and never made it to Constantinople. As was so often the case, Western conflicts and ambitions blocked the provision of aid to the crusader states. Earlier, Capetian involvement in the south of France had served as an excuse for Louis VIII to defer sending aid to the Latin Empire. Almost a decade before Jean de Béthune's expedition, Jean de Brienne's succession had been delayed because of his participation in the conflict between Frederick II and the papacy. The Latin Empire was not alone in experiencing this problem. Successful crusading recruitment had always depended on the security of the crusaders' Western possessions. Popes recognized this reality and, in response, pushed for an end to conflicts, declared Europe-wide peaces, and instituted protections for the property and interests of crusaders when preparing for crusades.[510] In 1238, Frederick II, at Milan, hindered the progress of the crusaders, flouting the pope's specific orders. According to Mouskès and Gregory IX, Frederick II did not delay the troops solely because of his

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[509] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, pp 613-16, ll 29039-29121.
[510] For a summary of Innocent III's decrees in preparation for the Fifth Crusade see Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant: 1204–1571*, II: 378-79, 383-84.

difficulties with the papacy or the legacy of Jean de Brienne's opposition to him, although these were factors. The Western emperor's obstruction of the crusaders followed an appeal from Vatatzes, who offered to do homage to Frederick II if he would thwart the crusade. Frederick II, seeing the possibility of expanding his dominium, then turned to Baudouin II and insisted that the young man become Frederick II's vassal. When Gregory IX heard of Frederick II's actions, he demanded that the Western emperor stop aiding the schismatic Vatatzes and permit the crusaders' passage.[511] Frederick II eventually bowed to the imperative and allowed them to traverse his territory, but the hinderance had done its damage. Jean de Béthune died in Venice while negotiating transport and, deprived of their leader, the soldiers scattered, some of them traveling to Greece but most returning home.[512] As was the case in 1235–1236, a combined Venetian and Morean force lifted the siege without Western help.[513] The empire was once again saved by its partner, Venice, and its vassals, while Western aid remained a proposal more than a reality.

The collapse of Jean de Béthune's army suggests a further difficulty in relying on aid from the West. Even when it could be gathered, there was no guarantee that it would arrive. This was why the financial support, raised by Gregory IX and Baudouin II, was so important. The money would not disappear in Italy waiting for passage to be arranged.

Baudouin II and the Capetians: Kinship, Land, and Piety

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[511] Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, col 902-3, no. 4110; J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi* (Paris: Henricus Pl, 1852), V: 180; Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, p. 233, no. 250.
[512] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, pp 632-33, 643-44, ll 29580-605, 29899-922.
[513] Ibid., pp 633-34, ll 29606-621.

Baudouin II's second stop, the Capetian court, was a logical destination. He was related by blood and marriage to the monarchy; Louis IX was his cousin and Blanche was Marie's great-aunt.[514] In addition to the kinship that linked the men, Louis IX was Baudouin II's overlord for Courtenay and other French territories. According to the archbishop of Sens, in his account of the *translatio* of the Crown of Thorns, the visit started off well. Louis IX, Blanche of Castile, and, indeed, the nobles of France welcomed Baudouin II "joyfully, honorably and gladly."[515] This visit established the tone of Baudouin II's relationships with the Capetians. Bound by kinship, lordship, and friendship, they provided him with advice and advocacy, as well as much-needed funds. The relationship deepened during Baudouin II and Marie's sojourns in the Capetian court and was maintained through correspondence in their absence. These interactions showcase Baudouin II's strongest assets—relics and land—but bring into sharp relief the difficulties inherent in appeals to the West. In contrast to Angold, who saw the relationship between Baudouin II and the Capetians as bringing "next to nothing in terms of concrete help," and Lock, who argued that "it is hardly surprising that the rulers of the west would commit themselves no further than small gifts and unwanted advice," this chapter will argue that Capetian aid was significant but resulting less from the Latin Empire's appeal than from Baudouin II's other resources.[516]

Contemporaries recognized the kin connection between Baudouin II and the Capetians. The archbishop of Sens referred to Louis IX as Baudouin II's "regem, consanguineum, dominum, et beneficum." The kinship was important to the

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[514] For details of the relationship see pp 95-96, 146-48 above.

[515] Cornutus, "Historia susceptionis Corone spinee," p. 49: "Ingressus siquidem regnum Francie, ab ipso rege et matresua et baronibus regni susceptus est gratanter, honorifice, et iocunde."

[516] Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 226; Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, p. 65.

archbishop, who elaborated on it, noting that Baudouin II sought help "from king Louis, whose blood he had through his father and mother, from his [Louis IX's] most prudent mother Blanche, whose niece he married, from the nobles of the kingdom of France, his relatives."[517] This last detail, that Baudouin II was also related to the barons of the French realm, reinforced the emperor's connection to France, which was also defined: "the kingdom of France, from which both his parents had come."[518] According to the archbishop, these relationships held great significance for Baudouin II. He offered the Crown of Thorns to Louis IX because of them, desiring that the relic glorify and enrich both the monarch and his land. The archbishop was not alone in acknowledging and valuing this relationship. Guillaume de Nangis likewise recorded the relationship between the king and the future emperor, although the reference is far more perfunctory: "sui consanguinei sancti regis Franciae."[519] These Westerners, at least, perceived Baudouin II as intimately connected to France through his family, even though he was raised elsewhere. It would be interesting to know whether Baudouin II appeared western—in hair style, dress, demeanour—but the sources do not speak to that.[520]

Gregory IX's appeal to piety failed to gather elite crusaders for the Latin Empire. With relics, however, Baudouin II was able to leverage the religious assets of Constantinople to gain support. While Baudouin II was in the West, the barons used the

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[517] Cornutus, "Historia susceptionis Corone spinee," p. 49: "a rege Ludovico, de cuius sanguine ex utraque parte patris et matris ortum habuerat, et a prudentissima matre eius Blanche, cuius neptem duxerat in uxorem, a nobilibus etiam regni Francie baronibus, consanguineis suis."
[518] Ibid., p. 51: "regnum Francie, de quo parentes ipsius utrique processerant."
[519] Guillaume de Nangis, "Chronicon," in *RHGF*, XX: 550.
[520] I think here of Susan Einbinder's description of the idealized memory of exiled Iberian Jews—in North Africa they adopted Spanish fashions which they would not have been able to wear in Spain because of requirements that they bear an outward mark of their Judaism. Susan L Einbinder, *No Place of Rest: Jewish Literature, Expulsion, and the Memory of Medieval France*, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp 77-79

Crown of Thorns, their greatest relic, as collateral for a loan from the Venetians. Their use of such a precious relic to obtain funds highlights, of course, their desperation and their lack of other resources. Even their partners were unwilling to give money to the Latin Empire or to loan it without prestigious collateral. When the loan came due, the barons did not have the funds to pay it. Instead, they borrowed money, from the Venetian noble Nicholas Quirino, to pay their creditors, with the Crown once again as security. The agreement with Quirino expressed the expectation but not the certainty that help would arrive from the West in the fall of 1238. If such aid arrived, the debt would have to be discharged in twenty days. If it did not, payment was due on November 20, 1238, two and a half months after the money had been advanced.[521] At that point, the Crown would be taken to Venice, and the barons had another four months to produce the money owed. If they could not do so, ownership of the relic would transfer to Quirino. Jean de Béthune's army never arrived and, unsurprisingly, the barons could not come up with the necessary funds to redeem the Crown, which was taken to Venice. Instead of relinquishing the relic to the Venetians, however, Baudouin II took advantage of Louis IX's piety to gain additional funds and the king's favor. He transferred the Crown to Louis IX. Although the exchange was couched as a gift, Louis IX gave Baudouin II 10,000 livres, in addition to producing the funds to redeem the Crown from Quirino.[522] The relic, which had already been used to obtain a loan, now secured additional funds for Baudouin II's crusade. In transferring the Crown of

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[521] Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 119, no. 60; Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, II: 346-49, no. CCXCVI; Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 391. The Venetians repeatedly loaned money to Baudouin II, Marie, and the barons.

[522] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 947. Dandolo's narrative is somewhat confused, placing the mortgaging of the Crown in Jean de Brienne's lifetime. Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 297. Matthew Paris also mentions it. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III: 517-18.

Thorns, Baudouin II returned to the practice adopted by his uncles Baudouin I and Henri, but not in evidence during Yolande and Robert's reigns, of donating relics to Western institutions and individuals, this time with direct monetary reward. As a relic of the Passion, the Crown of Thorns had enormous prestige and was welcomed into France with great celebrations. Louis IX built the Sainte-Chapelle in order to house the relics and contemporaries highlight the special connection between the kingdom and the relics of the Passion.[523]

For the Franks and Venetians, the relics were collateral. Their spiritual value was significant because it could be translated into a monetary one and it gave them meaning as part of a financial transaction. For Baudouin II, the relics also presented an opportunity for him to make a "gift" to his relative and benefactor and emphasized the religious foundation of the Latin Empire. For Louis IX, the financial transaction was merely a way to access the spiritual value of the relics. The spiritual value, which connected with his political program and his crusading plans, was the utmost concern.

Angold argued that the transfer of the Crown of Thorns and other relics to Constantinople represented for contemporaries "a judgement on the Latin Empire which had not proved itself worth of the responsibilities it had inherited from Byzantium."[524] Support for the Latin Empire in France certainly trailed off in the 1240s and would never again reach the level of Louis IX's support in the late 1230s. However, as I will

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[523] William Chester Jordan, "Saint Louis' Influence on French Society and Life in the Thirteenth Century: The Social Content of the Crusade of the Mid-Century (1248–54)" (Princeton University, History, 1973). A recent article by Meredith Cohen summarizes much of the work on Sainte-Chapelle and provides new insight into the place of the chapel in the religious life of Paris and the political program of the French kings. Meredith Cohen, "An Indulgence for the Visitor: Sainte-Chapelle," *Speculum* (2008): 840-83. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines described how "regnum a domino Iesu Christo huc usque decoratur et sublimatur." Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 947, ll 13-14. The archbishop of Sens provided the most vivid account of the relics' arrival and the procession to Paris. Cornutus, "Historia susceptionis Corone spinee," pp 53-55.
[524] Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 240

explore in the following chapters, there were many reasons for that, including missteps on the part of Baudouin II.

Western Land for Eastern Gain

Relics and the crusade were not the only tools Baudouin II had to muster support. His Western lands also carried the possibility of fund-raising and recruitment. When Baudouin II left Rome for France, he carried with him papal letters ordering that he be invested with all lands to which he had a legitimate claim. Pierre II's holdings of Auxerre, Nevers, and Tonnere had passed to Baudouin II's half sister Mathilde, but he inherited other lands in both France and the Low Countries.[525] Gregory IX threatened those who blocked his claims with excommunication.[526] These letters suggest an anxiety, justified by subsequent events, that the imperial heir would have a difficult time laying claim to his Western inheritance. Pierre II and Yolande had been absent from France at their deaths, and their lands passed to Baudouin II's older brothers, Phillipe and then Henri, who died in 1226 and 1229, respectively.[527] By Baudouin II's arrival in France in 1237, provisions made for the governing of his lands had been in place for many years and the holders of these properties were not inclined to relinquish them.

Louis IX invested Baudouin II with his French lands, which apparently included territory in Champagne as well as in Courtenay.[528] Louis IX's advocacy for Baudouin

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[525] Guillaume de Nangis, "Chronicon," p. 550.
[526] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, pp 621-22, ll 29278-84.
[527] Cornutus, "Historia susceptionis Corone spinee," p. 49: "hereditatem fratrum suorum, qui sine herede decesserant, adiret, marchionatum scilicet Namurcensem cum paertinentiis et castellaniuam Curtineti."
[528] Mouskès misidentified the territory as Auxerre rather than Courtenay. Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, p. 622, ll 29290-96: "Baudoins s'en part et si ome / A Paris vint, s'el congoi / Li rois, qui sa complainte oi, / Si que, sains point d'aler en fuerre, / Li rendi la conté d'Auçeurre / Et tout son droit." Guise, "Annales Hannonienses," p. 305: "Cui rex Francia reddidit omnes terras et possessiones, quas habere debebet in Francia et Campania." A letter from Gregory IX to Thibaut IV, count of Champagne, both mentions the

II's interests was evident even this early in his visit. According to Gauthier Cornut, impediments threatened Baudouin II's possession of his inheritance, difficulties that "were removed entirely by the order and power of the king."[529] The archbishop did not identify the origin of these difficulties, but Mathilde, Baudouin II's half sister, is the most likely culprit. Five years later, her challenge to his interests resulted in a second appeal to Louis IX to defend them.[530] The French king, acting in his official capacity as Baudouin II's lord and in his personal capacity as a relative and supporter, defended the young man's inheritance. For Louis IX, Baudouin II was a Western noble entitled to his inheritance, even if he never planned to remain in the West.

At most, Baudouin II spent a couple of months in Paris, and, by April 1237, he was in the Low Countries where he remained for a year. Historians are much better informed about Baudouin II's activities in Hainaut and Namur than about those in France. Charters describe donations, confirmations, and land transactions, made in his capacity as marquis de Namur. He may have been equally active in his French lands; unfortunately, the departmental archive of the Loiret, where Courtenay is located, burned down when it was bombed in the Second World War. Very few medieval documents survive.[531] Baudouin II's charters from Namur, therefore, will have to suffice as a basis for a discussion about his dealings with his Western lands. As Louis IX had done with his French lands, Jeanne, countess of Flanders and Hainaut, Baudouin

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kin relationship between him and Baudouin II and requests that the count turn over Baudouin II's possessions in Champagne. Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, I: 998.

[529] Cornutus, "Historia susceptionis Corone spinee," p. 49: "Si quas etiam in adeunda hereditate difficultates reperit, per regis mandatum et potentiam penitus sunt amote."

[530] See pp 205-6 below for his correspondence with Louis IX about the conflict.

[531] Personal correspondence, January 16, 2006, from Francoise Mignan at the Archives départementales de Loiret.

II's cousin, invested him with his inheritance.[532] In March 1237, perhaps in recompense for her support, Baudouin II ceded to her several villages, Onnaing and Quaroube, near Valenciennes, where he was a month later.[533] His presence in Valenciennes, instead of Namur, may be a sign that he was unable to enter his lands. His sister Marguerite and her husband Henri, count of Vianden, had taken control of Namur after the death of the marquis Henri, Baudouin II and Marguerite's brother.[534] As early as 1229, they called themselves "Henricus, marchio Namurcensis, Viennensis comes, et Margareta, marchissa et comitissa, uxor ejus."[535] Baudouin II's claim to Namur was clear; he was the only surviving brother of Philippe and Henri, neither of whom had left children. Both the barons and the people of Namur recognized his right. Marguerite and Henri, however, refused to turn it over to Baudouin II, who was compelled to launch a military strike to enforce his claim. A short campaign was followed by the countess of Flanders's judgment. She ruled in favor of Baudouin II but required that he pay a fine of seven thousand livres to compensate for the devastation wrought during the conflict.[536] Jeanne's decision reflected competing pressures on her.

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[532] Guise, "Annales Hannonienses," p. 305: "Etiam Johanna, Flandriae et Hainoniae comitissa, germana sua, reddidit libere quidquid in Hainonia et Flandria debebat."
[533] Frédéric Auguste Ferdinand Thomas de Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg* (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1844), I: 141.
[534] See pp 103, 115-17 above for Yolande's surrender of Namur to her and Pierre's eldest son, Philippe, and his refusal to go to Constantinople to succeed her. For his death during Louis VIII's fateful crusade to the south of France see Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, p 918, ll 38-39. Henri and Marguerite styled themselves and acted as rulers of Namur. Frédéric Auguste Ferdinand Thomas de Reiffenberg, ed., "Chartrier de Namur," in *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg* (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1844), pp 137-40.
[535] They did so in a charter confirming a grant to the abbey of Floreffe. Charles Peeters, ed., *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Beligique* (Louvrain, 1864), VIII: 370-71. Other charters show Henri and Marguerite acting as rulers of Namur and referring to themselves as such. Dieudonné Brouwers, ed., *L'administration et les finances du comté de Namur du XIIIe Au XVe siècle*, Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la province de Namur (Namur: Wesmael-Charlier, 1910), pp 35-37, nos. 66-75, 78, 80-83, 85-94. Jules Borgnet and St. Bormans, *Cartulaire de la commune de Namur* (Namur: Ad. Wesmael-Charlier, Libraire-Éditeur, 1876), pp 23-24, no.9.
[536] The most detailed account is in Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, pp 622-23, ll 29298-324. The *Chronique de l'abbaye de Floreffe* makes brief mention of it. Frédéric Auguste Ferdinand Thomas de Reiffenberg,

She could not very well rule against Baudouin II when his claim was so clear, yet neither did she want to offend Marguerite and Henri, who held other important territories. Her rule was suseptible to challenges, as the case of the false Baudouin I some years earlier revealed, and she could not afford to jeopardize allies.[537]

Control of Namur was important enough to Baudouin II to defend it militarily—because of family feeling, its utility to his Eastern goals, or most likely both. In Namur, starting even before he wrested control from Marguerite and Henri, Baudouin II acted as a Western noble—making donations, confirming those of his predecessors, approving those of his vassals, and granting lands to secular lords. During the years that Baudouin II spent in the West, he made donations or confirmed those of his predecessors to the abbeys of Argenton, Floreffe, Géronsart, Grandpré, Moulins, Val-Saint-George, and Villiers. Baudouin II's donations targeted institutions connected with prior rulers of Namur.[538] Floreffe, in particular, to which Baudouin II sold wood and confirmed a donation, was a long-standing recipient of generosity from the rulers of Namur. It was founded in part with donations from the count Godefroid and his wife Ermesinde in 1121.[539] Sixteen charters of the rulers of Namur made or confirmed donations to the abbey. Philippe, Baudouin II's uncle, had donated a relic that he received from either Baudouin I or Henri.[540] In the summer of 1239, Baudouin II added himself to that company. Val-Saint-George, to which Baudouin II confirmed donations

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ed., "Chronique de l'abbaye de Floreffe," in *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg* (Bruxelles: M. Hayez, 1844), p. 75. Guise, "Annales Hannonienses," p. 305.

537 Wolff, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225". David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman, 1992), pp 151-56.

538 In the spring of 1237, even before his victory against Marguerite and Henri, Baudouin II recorded charters concerning the religious of Grandpré and Villers. His sale to Grandpré mentioned Philippe. Galliot, *Histoire générale*, V: 418-19. Wauters, *Table chronologique*, IV: 305, 639.

539 Reiffenberg, "Chronique de l'abbaye de Floreffe," pp 66-67.

540 Ibid., p. 72, ll 167-72.

and made a sale, was likewise probably founded by Godefroid, and donations of Baudouin I (then Baudouin IX of Flanders and Hainaut) and his wife Marie enriched the abbey in 1202, prior to their departure for the crusade.[541] Baudouin II granted the hermitage of Marlagne, founded by his brother Philippe in 1225, to the abbey of Moulins.[542]

Baudouin II was particularly concerned to honor Philippe's memory and created a connection with his brother, whom he had never met, through charitable giving. He confirmed Philippe's donation to Géronsart, founded a chapel there, and provided for an anniversary Mass to be said for Philippe's soul.[543] In this charter, he referred to his older brother as "carissimi et antecessoris nostri fratris, piae memoriae, Philippi comitis Namurcensis."[544] He also confirmed a foundation at Grandpré that Henri and Marguerite had made in memory of Philippe.[545] Reflecting his dispute with his sibling, the confirmation was written as a donation, referencing Philippe but not Marguerite or her husband. Similarly, when Baudouin II confirmed the donation of Jean d'Auvelais to the abbey of Floreffe, he did not mention the previous confirmation by Henri and Marguerite.[546]

Philippe had ruled Namur for more than a decade, inheriting the county from his mother when she left for Constantinople. After Yolande's death, he refused to abandon his Western lands and commitments to succeed his parents in Constantinople. His

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[541] Peeters, *Analectes*, III: 480, 488.
[542] Ibid., V: 375.
[543] Galliot, *Histoire générale*, V: 413.
[544] Ibid.
[545] Ibid., V: 417-18. Henri and Marguerite's donation is recorded in Brouwers, *L'administration*, pp 40-41, no. 70.
[546] Baudouin II's confirmation accompanied his sale of woods to the abbey. Peeters, *Analectes*, VIII: 371-73. Henri and Marguerite's confirmation came soon after they claimed the county. Ibid., VIII: 370-71.

prestige and power at home were more appealing to him than a crown, even an imperial one with crusading credentials. In confirming his brother's donations and making further ones in his memory, Baudouin II presented himself as Philippe's rightful successor, a position challenged by his sister. In ignoring her related confirmations and donations, he sought to obviate the period of her illegitimate rule. Baudouin II's donations were clustered tightly around Namur, with the furthest institution the abbey of Villers, twenty-three miles away. Only in his confirmations did Baudouin II venture outside this circle circumscribed by family tradition and geography, making charters acknowledging donations of the archbishop of Thessaloniki to the religious of Anchin and of a vassal to the church of Saint Denis of Liège.[547]

Baudouin II's activities in Namur extended beyond donations and confirmations. In July 1237, during his struggle for control of Namur, he conceded the *châtellenie* of Samson to Foulques in return for a yearly rent.[548] Two years later, he transferred lands to Warnier de Longchamps, who appears in several charters during the 1230s.[549] A conflict over ownership of Biervliet was unresolved at his departure, and he acknowledged that Robert, avoué of Arras, and Arnoul d'Audenarde would decide the matter.[550] Baudouin II's provisions for and dealings with Namur demonstrate his interest in establishing his Western claims and his willingness, when present, to participate in public life. Equivalent information about Courtenay is not available, but

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[547] Warin, the archbishop of Thessaloniki, had a long career in the Latin Empire and accompanied Baudouin II on his return to Constantinople in 1239. Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp 187-88. See Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 132-33, no. 202; Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 24. The vassal was Godefroid, lord of Sombreffe. Brouwers, *L'administration*, p. 65, no. 103.
[548] Galliot, *Histoire générale*, V: 413-14; Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, I: 9-10, no. VI.
[549] With Godefoid de Ville and Évard d'Émine, he witnessed the resolution to a conflict concerning the abbey of Villers. Brouwers, *L'administration*, pp 33-35, no. 64. He also witnessed a charter of Henri and Marguerite. Peeters, *Analectes*, VIII: 370-71.
[550] Wauters, *Table chronologique*, IV: 310.

he probably acted similarly there. Namur was his maternal inheritance, Courtenay his paternal one, and there is no evidence that he treated Courtenay differently from Namur or other matters. Later correspondence with Louis IX about a conflict with Mathilde, Baudouin II's sister and countess of Nevers, shows that Baudouin II asserted and sought to maintain his claims in France as well as in Namur.[551]

Baudouin II's engagement with affairs in his Western lands, however, did not signal an abandonment of his Eastern possessions. On the contrary, Baudouin II was predominantly committed to the success and, later, the recovery of the Latin Empire and was willing to devote his Western resources to these aims. In the final six months of his Western sojourn, this attitude was clear. Ten charters survive from this period, more than from the previous two years combined. Confirmations of Philippe's actions no longer concerned Baudouin II. Instead, of these later documents, four are sales to the abbeys of Floreffe, Grandpré, Moulins, and Val-Saint-George.[552] The money raised from these sales most likely provided additional support for his return to Constantinople.

Baudouin II went further. When preparing to depart for the East, he elected not to try to govern Namur from Constantinople. Instead, he mortgaged the property to Louis IX for 50,000 livres parisien.[553] Presumably, his conflict with his sisters had

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[551] Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 464, no. 2954.
[552] Peeters, *Analectes*, III: 194-95, no. IX, V: 377-78. For the sale to Grandpré see Galliot, *Histoire générale*, V: 418-19 and Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 131, 133, nos. 198, 199, 204. Of the other six documents, three are confirmations, one is a donation, one concerns Marie's dowry, one is a concession of land to a vassal, and a final one concerns a conflict with the abbey of St Bavon.
[553] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 947, ll 5-6: "Supradict* imperator iuvenis Balduinus castrum de Namuco regi Francie Ludovico supra 50000 librarum Parisiensium invadiavit." Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, ll 30447-460: "A Meléun, ù la cours jouste, / Fu cevaliers à Pentecouste / Et mesire Alfons avoec lui, / Li frère au roi, ciertains en sui, / Et mains autres, par grant amour, / Pour joie de l'emperéour. / Sa tière engaga de Namur, / Son castiel fort, ù il n'a mur / Qui ne soit en la dure roke; / Desous, en l'aige, a mainte roque / Et pesçon autre, et si a port / U les gens font maint grant aport. / Si

taught him the difficulty of securing his property from afar. Proceeds from the land would be difficult to collect from Constantinople. In the end, the mortgage to Louis IX provided him with an immediate sum to pay for his army and to support the Latin Empire and ensured that his rights would have a champion in the West.[554] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines noted this transaction in conjunction with the gift of the Crown of Thorns, both signs of the Capetian king's centrality in Baudouin II's schemes to raise money and garner support for his empire.

The kinship that united the Capetians and the Courtenays, enhanced by personal relationships, helped Baudouin II. Yet, kinship alone was not enough to inspire Western aid. Baudouin II's other assets—namely Western land and religious relics—were necessary parts of these transactions. Louis IX's most significant contributions came with associated benefits for the king. In the case of Namur, the king gained control of a county in an area where royal authority was not always certain. In the case of the Crown of Thorns, the king followed his own inclination, undergirded by his great piety. The king's welcoming of the precious cargo and his memorable barefoot participation in the procession of the relic to Paris demonstrated his devotion. It is hard to imagine that Louis IX would have refused to purchase the Crown of Thorns, regardless of its seller. During his time in France and after, Baudouin II established a personal relationship with Blanche of Castile and Louis IX. Substantial practical support, however, came from Louis IX only when other circumstances made it

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l'orent li Templier en garde, / Pour le roi, ki son preut regarde." Mouskés inaccurately stated that Baudouin engaged Auxerre to the king. Auxerre, of course, was never Baudouin II's to rule or alienate, since it was the inheritance of his half-sister Mathilde. Ibid., ll 20460-61.

554 As a strategy to secure his Western lands, the mortgage to Louis IX had its disadvantages. Baudouin II did not gain the approval of the king of the Romans, an omission that precipitated a serious challenge to his possession of the land. See pp 275-86 below.

appealing. Lock places the Capetians with the papacy as interested in the Latin Empire as "a symbol of the triumphant papal monarchy, of western interference with Greek life and of the continuing crusade."[555] Yet, Louis IX's concern for Baudouin II centered on their kinship, their lord-vassal relationship, and the land and relics that the Latin emperor could provide. The crusade to Constantinople, the strength of the papacy, the correction of the Greeks—there is no evidence to suppose that these concerns motivated Louis IX.

Not all of Europe was concerned with what Baudouin II could offer. In England, Baudouin II received support apparently without giving anything in return. In the spring of 1238, perhaps emboldened by his success in Namur and his warm welcome in France, Baudouin II traveled to England. His departure for Constantinople was anticipated in the summer of 1238, and this trip was probably part of a final fund-raising push. His unannounced visit, however, was greeted with suspicion. According to Matthew Paris, the king complained that Baudouin II's arrival without consultation and permission "appeared contemptuous and arrogant."[556] Baudouin II, after a year of acting as marquis of Namur, had become acclimated to his position as a Western noble and forgot, or perhaps never fully understood, that his other title required him to observe a certain protocol. Emperor of Constantinople he was, but the Constantinople of the Latin Empire was not what it had been under Byzantine control. In a polity where the nobles were able to attack the empress without retribution, as they had during

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[555] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, p. 278.
[556] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, III: 481: "Qui cum apud Doveram applicuisset, dictum est ei ex parte domini regis, quod inconsulte et secus quam deceret se ingessit in regnum alienum princepstantae celsitudinis, rege inconsulto et absque ipsius licentiae, et videbatur contemptus et superbia."

Robert's reign, the emperor may not have seen himself as a "princeps tantae celsitudinis."[557]

According to Mathew Paris, Henry III's antagonism toward Baudouin II was based on his association with Jean de Brienne, who had been welcomed in England but then fought with French forces against the English. Like Frederick II, Henry III and the English nobles remembered this betrayal and held it against Baudouin II. The English king relented more quickly than the Western emperor: An apology from Baudouin II sufficed to smooth the way and Henry III invited him to London where he was greeted warmly and allowed to make his case. He did not remain long, but left England with seven hundred marcs and "many precious and rich gifts," which he received from Henry III and Richard, earl of Cornwall.[558]

In subordinating his Western interests to his Eastern ones, Baudouin II was following in a tradition established by his uncle Baudouin I and his own parents, who had used their Western lands to generate income which was then used in the East.[559] With Baudouin II, because his reign was longer, a clearer picture emerges of the balance between West and East. Baudouin II's orientation toward his Eastern possessions should not be surprising in an individual who was born and raised in Constantinople and had never even visited the West until he was almost twenty years old. It is more startling that he was so invested in his Western lands once he arrived. His actions demonstrate a cultural affinity with the West. With the exception of his arrival in England, Baudouin II apparently moved easily in the circles of Western

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[557] Ibid.
[558] Ibid.: "Et factum est, cum recederet a rege et comite R[icardo], cum multis et preciosis donativis ditatus, septingentas circiter marcas reportavit."
[559] See pp 31-32, 102-3 above.

popes, kings, and lords. His relationships in the West, in the context of his family, his lords, and his lands, reveal the complexity of his identity—forged in Constantinople, marked by Western and Eastern influences, and focused, in large part, on the needs of his Eastern empire.

Baudouin II's Return to Constantinople

Despite Gregory IX's failure to divert the great princes to Constantinople, the young emperor's trip to the West produced two major expeditionary forces: the one under Jean de Béthune and a second one in 1239, which accompanied Baudouin II to Constantinople and fought there. For this second force, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines reported an army of seven hundred knights and thirty thousand foot soldiers.[560] Akropolites gave the fantastic figure of sixty thousand men and on this basis judged Baudouin II's trip to the West as a great success.[561] This substantial army the second Baudouin II was able to raise provides a counterpoint to Gregory IX's lack of success in diverting the Holy Land crusaders to Constantinople. The efforts of the pope and the Latin emperor in the mid- to late-1230s may not have produced another Fourth Crusade, but they did result in a significant amount of support.

Baudouin II's expedition lacked a Geoffroy de Villehardouin or a Jean de Joinville to provide details about the composition of the army and actions of the partipants and, as a result, we know little about it. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines and Mouskés name some of the lords who went with Baudouin II: Humbert V de Beaujeu,

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[560] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 946, ll 44-46: "Erant usque ad 700 milites preter armigeros et balistarios, bene fuerunt in equis 30000 preter pedites."

[561] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 57-58, l 27- l 3: "καὶ συμμαχίαν ζητεῖ ἀξιόλογον, καὶ ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῦ σκοποῦ. καὶ ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἑξήκοντα χιλιάδες συνηθροίσθησαν Φράγγων, ἵν' ὅπως κατὰ Ῥωμαίων χωρήσωσιν." Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 203, ch 37: "He asked him [Louis IX] for considerable military aid and was successful in his aim." His evaluation, although not born out by the facts, supports Mouskès's account of Vatatzes's concern about the Western crusaders.

Thomas de Marle, Josseran Gors, Guillaume de Cayeaux, the castellan of Beaumetz, and Watins de la Haverie.[562] Two of these men, Humbert V and Josseran, were identified as Baudouin II's relatives. Humbert V was Baudouin II's cousin; his parents were Guichard III (or IV) de Beaujeu and Sibylle de Hainaut, sister of Baudouin I, Henri, and Yolande.[563] Thomas was the brother of Enguerran de Coucy and an important lord in his own right.[564] Guillaume de Cayeux may have been a relative of Anseau de Cayeux, regent of the empire. Two clerics are also identified: Warinus, archbishop of Thessaloniki, and Baudouin, previously bishop of Sinigaglia and then of Verissa.

Absent was Pierre de Bretagne, who had promised to lead his forces to Constantinople, and, notably, Robert de Courtenay, Baudouin II's uncle who had administered the Courtenay lands when Pierre II and Yolande left for Constantinople in 1217. He had a long and significant career, including as the *buticularius* of France under Louis VIII and his son.[565] He should have been a prime target for Baudouin II's crusade; in addition to his familial tie to Constantinople, Robert's career included

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[562] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 946, ll 40-44: "Iste iuvenis imperator Balduinus, Petri comitis Autisiodorensis filius ultimus, habuit in comitatu suo viros nobiles Thomam de Marla, fratrem Ingelrannii de Coci, de parentela sua Humbertum de Belloioco, cognatum suum Iosserannum Grossum de Burgundia, quondam archiepiscopum, qui fuerat Thessalonicensis, et episcopum Balduinum quondam Semigallensem, qui factus est archiepiscopus Viscienensis." Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, 30475-88: "Q'uns qu'autres ot pris Comes / Aine qu'en sa tière li prist sommes, / Mesire Yviers, cil de Bielgiu, / Tint en son ost moult bien son liu, / Ses couzins, et moult de sa gent, / Assés i mist de son argent. / Et s'i fu Tumas de Couchi, / Et pour Dieu et pour sa mierci, / Et li castelains de Biaumés, / Od lui son fil i fu remés. / Et s'i fu Guillaumes de Keu, / Uns cevaliers c'on tint à preu / Et Wetins de la Haverie, / Et moult d'autre bacelerie."

[563] Humbert V's participation is confirmed in charter evidence. Ch. Kohler, "Documents inédits concernant l'orient latin et les croisades (XIIe - XIVe siècle)," *Revue de l'Orient latin* VII (1899): 20-21. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 868

[564] Dominique Barthélemy, *Les deux ages de la seigneurie banale: pouvoir et société dans la terre des sires de Coucy (milieu XIe – milieu XIIIe siécle)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1984).

[565] Multiple charters show Robert de Courtenay in the company of the French kings and confirming or witnessing the charters of others. See, as examples, Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 14a, 18b-21b, 33, 36b-38a, 44a, 152b, nos. 1610, 1621, 1655-56, 1663-66, 1993. Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 9, 11–19, 21–22.

crusading credentials and connections with the Toucy family.[566] Indeed, he took the cross in the mid-1230s, but there is no evidence that he considered joining the diversion to Constantinople. Instead, he accompanied the main force to the Holy Land.

As Jean de Brienne had eight years earlier, Baudouin II arrived with an army. More passionate about defending Constantinople, the city of his birth, than his father-in-law had been, Baudouin II launched a successful attack on Tzouroulos, a city that was often the object of military efforts, most recently the Franco-Bulgarian attack in 1237. Baudouin II's military success was made possible in large part by the pacts that the barons had negotiated with Asen and the Cumans in 1237.[567] Although Asen had withdrawn from his alliance with the Franks, he provided the Western army with safe passage through his territory, in violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of his renewed agreement with Vatatzes.[568] The Franks' deal with the Cumans was more durable. In 1239, before Baudouin II's return, the Franco-Cuman collaboration was secured with the first of three marriages. It involved Narjot de Toucy, whose first wife had been the daughter of Branas and Agnès of France. After she died, he married the daughter of the Cuman king Ione.[569] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines linked Cuman military aid to Narjot's marriage: "[A]nd the greatest part of the Cumans, with whom the noble lord Narjot de

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[566] Du Bouchet, *Histoire généalogique de la maison royale de Courtenay*, pp 27, 31; Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 289a-299a, no. 2404.
[567] See p. 167 above.
[568] Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 58, ll 13-16: "οἱ μὲν οὖν Βούλγαροι τὰς μετὰ Ῥωμαίων σπονδὰς παρεωρακότες ἄδειαν τοῖς Φράγγοις δεδώκασι διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν αὐτῶν διελθεῖν, τῷ δοκεῖν ὑπ'αὐτῶν βιασθέντες τὴν ἐκβολήν." Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 203, ch 37: "The Bulgarians, overlooking their agreements with the Romans, gave the Franks permission to cross their mountains, supposeduly force by them to let them pass." Aubri de Trois-Fontaines also reported that the Franks passed through Asen's territory, although he characterized that portion of the journey as treacherous. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 946, l 46: "Cum maxima difficultate terram Alsani transierunt."
[569] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines mentioned this marriage twice. Ibid., p. 947, ll 1-3 and p. 950, ll 17-19.

Toucy had joined in his second marriage, were of assistance to them."[570] In 1241, two other Franco-Cuman marriages confirmed the alliance, involving the nobles Guillaume de Méry, son of the constable, and a certain Baudouin from Hainaut.[571] The Cumans joined Baudouin II's attack on Tzouroulos. Akropolites attributed the Frankish capture of Tzouroulos to the overwhelming numbers of the Franco-Cuman forces, although he also reported a rumor that some inhabitants contemplated supporting the attackers and implied that this encouraged the governor to surrender.[572]

The three marriages to Cuman women, occurring after the death of Jean de Brienne, marked the Latin Empire's return to investing its resources in relationships with neighbors. As allies, the Cumans were noteworthy for their foreignness. Although individuals had converted, as a people, they were still pagans and did not lead settled lives. To Westerners, the Cumans remained profoundly strange. A decade after his father married a Cuman princess, Philippe de Toucy visited Louis IX in Caesarea. Joinville recorded the strange stories that Philippe told about the Franks' ally and his own relatives, the Cumans. In order to sanctify the agreement, blood from the rulers and nobles of each side was mixed and drunk. They then sent a dog to run between the two sides and cut it to pieces with their swords, swearing that this would be the

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[570] Ibid., p. 947, ll 1-3: "et maxima pars Comanorum fuit eis in auxilium, cum quorum domnis vir nobilis Nargaldus de Torceio duplex fecerat matrimonium."

[571] Ibid., p. 950, ll 15-17: "Saronius insuper traditor quidem duas habebat filias baptizatas in Constantinopoli, quarum unam duxit Guillelmus conestabuli filius, alteram Balduinus de Haynaco."

[572] Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 58, ll 16-18, 21-26: "τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄστυ τῆς Τζουρουλοῦ καὶ αὖθις ἑάλω, ἐκστρατευσάντων κατ᾽αὐτῶν τῶν Λατίνων καὶ συμμαχούντων τούτοις καὶ τῶν Σκυθῶν … τὸ δὲ τῆς Λατινικῆς δυνάμεως περιὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπειροπληθὲς τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἑλεπόλεων συχνόν τε καὶ καρτερὸν παραδοῦναι τοῦτον τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς πεποιήκεσαν. φασὶ δέ τινες καὶ προδοσίαν μελετῆσαί τινας κρύφα, κἀντεῦθεν πτοηθῆναι τὸ ἀπρόοπτον τῆς ἁλώσεως." Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 203: "So, then, the town of Tzouroulos was again captured when the Latins, allied with the Scyths, marched out against them [the Romans] … The superiority of the Latin force and the infinite number of Scyths, and the quantity and strength of the siege towers had forced him to surrender the town to the Italians. (But some say that certain people meditated betrayal secretly and that he feared an unforeseen conquest from this source.)"

punishment for whichever side abandoned the agreement. Philippe also related how a Cuman knight was buried with his live sergeant and horse.[573] Philippe's stories, while acknowledging the Cumans' foreign behavior and beliefs, also demonstate the Franks' willingness to engage with and even participate in Cuman culture and practices.

Lock, with his focus on a hybrid Franco-Greek culture (or lack thereof), proclaimed that the thirteenth century saw the decline of intermarriages between Greeks and Latins and argued that "the upper levels of Latin society sought to maintain racial and linguistic purity as well as the social exclusiveness as a mark of their dominance."[574] Yet, these marriages to Cumans suggest that Lock structured his question too narrowly. Baudouin II and his son, Philippe de Courtenay, married Westerners. Yet, the elite barons of the Latin Empire willingly, it seems, entered into alliances with Cumans and Greeks.

The Franco-Cuman alliance and the accompanying marriages had a regional parallel in the relationship between the Cumans and the Hungarians. When invited into Hungary in 1238, the Cumans converted and the Hungarian king acted as godfather to Köten, the Cuman leader, thus creating a kin relationship. A marriage between Béla IV's son Istvan and the daughter of a Cuman leader accompanied the renewal of the alliance some years later.[575] In making their alliance, then, the barons of Constantinople acted as their neighbors did.

Baudouin II and the West

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573 Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Dunod, 1995), pp 244-46, ch 495-98. Translation in Jean de Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, trans. René Hague (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), pp 150-51, ch 495-98.
574 Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, p. 291.
575 Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000– c. 1300*, p. 88.

Gregory IX maintained his efforts in favor of the Latin Empire after Baudouin II left for Constantinople. The pope continued to hope that he could collect, through the redemption of vows, monies to send to the East.[576] The death of Gregory IX in 1241 ended this crusading push. When Innocent IV was finally selected in 1243, after a two-year interregnum, he continued to support Baudouin II and the Latin Empire but did not renew the call for a crusade. Although crusading failed to play a significant role in the later part of the empire, kinship, land, and relics continued to structure Baudouin II's relationship with the West.

After returning to Constantinople, Baudouin II faced difficulties with his Western lands. Gregory IX had placed Baudouin II's family and Western lands under papal protection in late 1239 and announced this to the archbishops of Reims and Sens and the bishop of Liège.[577] In February 1240, Gregory IX transferred guardianship of Baudouin II's lands in the German empire and French kingdom from the bishop of Cambrai to the archdeacon, chancellor and officials of Paris.[578] This transfer was made because Baudouin II's men were complaining that the bishop was not protecting the Latin emperor's land and interests. Gregory IX did not enumerate the problems left unsolved by the bishop, although they might well have involved challenges from Baudouin II's sisters or others. The Parisian officials, although farther away than the bishop of Cambrai, were less involved in local politics and thus had less at stake. The papal intervention did not end Baudouin II's troubles with his Western lands. Two letters from Baudouin II to Louis IX in February 1242 reveal that, in the early 1240s,

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[576] See his letters Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, III, nos. 5047, 5075, 5123, 5296, 5305, 5312, 6089.
[577] Ibid., III, nos. 4944, 4945, 4952, 4953.
[578] Ibid., III: col 175, no. 5047. Gregory IX instructed the bishop of Cambrai to protect Baudouin II's properties in the German empire and French kingdom in December 1238, before the young man's return to the east. Ibid., II: col 1176, no. 4625.

Mathilde challenged Baudouin II's possession of Bertry, Coulanges-sur-Yonne, Mailly-le-Château, and Mailly-la-Ville, and their associated land.[579] One letter gave Louis IX permission to deal in Baudouin II's name with Mathilde in order to resolve the conflict. It was an official document, asserting the necessity that kept Baudouin II from France and granting Louis IX full authority to act in his place.[580] Louis had many obvious advantages as an advocate: As the king of France and overlord of Mathilde's and Baudouin II's lands, he had ex officio power to judge the conflict; as a relation and often an ally of Mathilde in various matters, he might have been able to exercise more informal suasion. Baudouin II's choice also reflected a personal confidence that he could trust Louis IX to look out for his best interests—despite the king's desire to maintain peace with the powerful countess of Nevers.

Baudouin II's second letter also dealt with property, although it was a less official and more personal letter. As thanks for Geoffroy de Villehardouin's rescue Constantinople with a naval fleet in the siege of 1235–1236, Baudouin II granted him possession of Courtenay, the Latin emperor's patrimonial land in France. He wrote to Louis IX informing him of the transfer, and the king protested. The surviving letter is Baudouin II's reply. He began with an acknowledgment of Louis IX's surprise at and disapproval of the transaction and expressed his own surprise at the king's reaction:

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579 "castris ac pertinentiis de Betriaco, de Collungiis super Yonam, de Mallicastro et Mallivilla" see Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 464, no. 2954 for the full text of the letter, quoted from here.
580 Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 423-24: "damus et concedimus auctoritatem et plenariam potestatem constituendi pro nobis procuratorem vel procuratores ad prosequendam et terminandam causam predictam et ad agendum quolibet genere actionis super castris et pertinentiis supradictis, tam contra predictam comitissam sororem nostram, quam contra quoslibet alios detentores, et ad prosequendum litem usque ad finem. -- Dedimus etim eidem domino regi potestatem componendi super predictis, transigendi, donandi, quitandi et faciendi omnino quicquid viderit faciendum; quicquid super hiis de ejus mandato aut dispositione ordinatum fuerit sive factum, ratum et firmum habituri et inviolabiliter servaturi."

"[W]e are even more astonished by your wonder."[581] Baudouin II evinced frustration at Louis IX's lack of comprehension. He reminded Louis IX of the poverty and desperate need of the Latin Empire. Given Geoffroy's rescue of Constantinople, the emperor did not understand why his grant of Courtenay was a surprise. In fact, he asserted a willingness to agree to much more, had Geoffroy asked it. The emperor's position is clear: Courtenay might be his patrimony but Geoffroy de Villehardouin was a necessary ally for Baudouin II's true concern, the Latin Empire. Far from not being wholly dedicated to the well-being of his Eastern lands, as Lock asserted, Baudouin II was willing to sacrifice his Western possessions to support his Eastern venture.[582]

After providing this explanation, however, the letter's tone changed, turning on *sed*. Baudouin II proclaimed his joy that Louis IX refused the transfer; he was as happy as he would have been to inherit new land: "But once we understood that your majesty refused to allow the said donation to the prince, you should know we were filled with as much joy as if we had inherited another territory."[583] Baudouin II's actions make his ecstasy suspect: He did not keep Courtenay for himself, but instead immediately granted it to his wife as a marriage-portion, announcing as much in his letter. Most likely, his expression of joy was a way of placating Louis IX. This transaction also needed Louis IX's approval and Baudouin II explained his reasoning. Marie's original marriage portion was the object of a conflict with Mathilde, the matter addressed in Baudouin II's other letter, and their possession was uncertain. The question of Marie's dower had been at issue for several years. In 1238, Baudouin II gave Blaton in the

[581] Ibid., V: 423: "Nos verø super admiratione vestra potius admiramur."
[582] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, pp 266-67.
[583] Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 423-24: "Sed cùm intelleximus quòd dominatio vestra ipsum Principem ad dictam donationem admittere recusaret, sciatis nos laetitia tanta repletos, quam si aliam terram aequiualentem cum illa essemus adepti."

diocese of Cambrai to Marie because of the conflict with Mathilde.[584] In granting Courtenay to his wife, Baudouin II provided for her future even if Louis IX failed in prosecuting his claims against Mathilde. The king had shown his commitment to securing Baudouin II's interest in Courtenay, and Baudouin II might have a reasonable degree of confidence that, if Louis IX refused the transfer to Geoffroy de Villehardouin, he would oppose any attempt to seize the land. Louis IX apparently approved Baudouin II's request and Courtenay was successfully preserved for Marie.[585]

Baudouin II in the East

Louis IX was not Baudouin II's only correspondent in the Capetian court. A year and a half later, the Latin emperor wrote two letters to Blanche of Castile. Whereas the letters to Louis IX focused on affairs in France, those to Blanche, both dating from August 1243, dealt with issues more directly relevant to the Latin Empire. One recounted a diplomatic alliance proposed between the Franks and the Turks and the need for an accompanying marriage alliance between a Courtenay relative and the sultan. The second addressed a report that Baudouin II had Greek advisers, although the letter ranged over various topics. For a historian of the Latin Empire, these letters are a rare, even unique, opportunity to gaze into the emotional and practical world of Constantinople. Far from being form letters, rote correspondence from an emperor to a queen, they are intimate, revealing details about the relationship between Blanche and Baudouin II, the internal affairs of the Latin Empire, and Constantinople's relationship

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[584] Arsenal, MS 6023, # 25. Registered in Wauters, *Table chronologique*, IV: 310; Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, IV: 316, no. 2346. Transcribed by Charles du Fresne Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empeurs françois* (Paris, 1657), II, Receuil, pp 3-4.

[585] After Baudouin II's death, Marie communicated with the archbishop of Sens about her fief of Courtenay. AD Yonne, Bibliothèque de Sens, G 94, n 1; AD Yonne, G 230, fol 239 r; AD Yonne, G 229, fol 9 r; AD Yonne, G 232, p 116. Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, III: 345, no. 684.

with her neighbors and the West. Read carefully, the letters also provide an intriguing commentary on ethnic and religious identity. From his correspondence to Blanche, Baudouin II emerges as a man on the cusp of two worlds. He understood, clearly, the standards and considerations of Western society and the importance of conforming to them. His need for Western support shines. In the pursuit of such aid, he had learned to play to Capetian concerns and interests. But Baudouin II himself was not a Westerner. He could bridge the cultural gap between Constantinople and Paris, but the distance was far. Nowhere are the differences between the two more striking than in his letters to Blanche.

Baudouin II's correspondence with Blanche struck a personal, even affectionate tone. The relationship that tied the Courtenay and the Capetians deepened during Baudouin II's visit to France. Although the known examples of financial aid during his stay in the West came from the king not the Queen Mother, the two letters to Blanche reveal a closeness not present in his correspondence to Louis IX. When writing to Louis IX, Baudouin II opened with a standard salutation and then moved directly into the purpose of the letter. Baudouin II referred to the king in very similar language in both letters: The letter concerning Courtenay was addressed to "excellentissimo Domino Ludovico Dei gratia Francorum Regi," then a few words later the sender is described as "consanguineus suus," while Baudouin II gave authority to "excellenti domino et consanguineo nostro Ludovico, Dei gratia regi Francorum" to act in the conflict with Mathilde.[586] The kin relationship was mentioned but not harped on.

[586] Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 423-24; Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 464, no. 2954.

In contrast, both of Baudouin II's letters to Blanche dwelt on his concern and affection for her, his hope for and pleasure in her good health, and his reliance on her. In both cases, the standard *salutatio* was followed by a repetition of the positive sentiments. The tone, characterized by Wolff as "almost tearful," and the repeated assertions of his reliance on the Queen Mother and his welcoming of her criticism confirm his dependence.[587] His letters to Louis, although by no means a boilerplate example of correspondence, lacked similar personal language.

In the letter responding to Blanche's criticism about the nature of his advisers, Baudouin II began with assurances of his own and Marie's good health and an expression of his pleasure at news that the queen, the king, and her other sons were prospering. Blanche had reported her and her sons' good health in a letter carried by the marshal of the Latin Empire, Villain d'Aulnay. She had also sent word about the recent peace between the king and the counts of Toulouse and La Marche and Baudouin II commented on that. The victory was of great import to Blanche and Louis IX but does not appear to have directly touched Baudouin II. His mention of it demonstrated to Blanche, and modern readers, his concern for and interest in her affairs.

Similarly, Blanche was informed about events in the East. She had heard about a loan that Jean de Valenciennes had made to Baudouin II and queried the emperor about it. He, in return, provided details of the transaction.[588] The main purpose of the letter, however, was to deal with a report received by the Queen Mother that he employed Greeks in his council. She had reprimanded him for this and the letter

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[587] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 614.

[588] The text of the letter is in Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, pp 518-19, no. 3124. Jean de Valenciennes appears in other documents confirming his status as a banker for Baudouin II and the Latin Empire. See Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, III, no. 5312 and Wauters, *Table chronologique*, IV: 502.

contained Baudouin II's response. He began by thanking Blanche profusely for her concern: "[W]e are most thankful to you, *serenitati*; indeed, now we know and recognize that you truly love us because you correct us and teach us so that we may turn away from evil and strive to adhere to good."[589] Despite his appreciation of her interest, he assured her that it was unnecessary since "in no way have we used the counsel of any Greeks, nor are we using it, nor will we use it."[590] In fact, he asserted that he only employed "the counsel of noble and good men of France who are among us," a construction that excluded not only Greeks but also non-French Westerners and Latin Christians more generally.[591] The letter went on to repeat the denial and to suggest that Blanche question any visitors to France from the Latin Empire as to its veracity.[592] It ended with Baudouin II welcoming further correction from Blanche and affirming his reliance on her and Louis IX.[593]

This letter provides insight into one of the central questions of this dissertation: to what extent Baudouin II and his compatriots retained a sense of French identity. His close relationship with the Capetian monarchy is evident starting in 1237. But intimacy with one or two individuals does not prove or even necessarily suggest a wider affinity. This caveat is particularly true in Baudouin II's case, since Blanche and Louis IX were both his relatives and a source of aid. His closeness to them, therefore, need not signify

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[589] Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, pp 518-19, no. 3124: "serenitati vestre gratiarum uberrimas referimus actiones; nunc enim scimus et cognoscimus quod nos vere diligitis monendo nos atque docendo ut divertamus a malo et bono adherere nitamur."
[590] Ibid.: "consilio aliquorum Grecorum nullatenus usi sumus, nec utimur, nec utemur."
[591] Ibid.: "consilio nobilium ac bonorum virorum Francie qui apud nos sunt."
[592] Ibid.: "et ita invenietis procul dubio verum; et si ita inveneritis, supplicamus ut credatis et veritatem super hoc inquiratis tam a latore presentium quam ab aliis omnibus qui ad partes vestras accedunt; nosque semper vobis scribemus prout veritas rei erit, et, falsa suggestione abjecta, velitis credere veritati."
[593] Ibid.: "Si quid autem inveneritis emendandum, supplicamus quatinus nobis significare velitis et corrigere, nosque invenietis paratos ad standum vestro consilio et mandato, serenitati vestre devotissime supplicantes quatinus nostri dignemini misereri; omnes enim fiducia et spes nostra consistit in gratia solius domini nostri regis, filii vestri serenissimi, et in vestra."

a cultural affiliation, but rather an instrumental approach to his kin and possible supporters. Baudouin II's response to Blanche's reprimand provides a rare direct piece of evidence that Baudouin II, despite having been born and raised in Constantinople, retained a strongly French identity. According to his own testimony, he did not merely exclude Greeks from his counsel, but he relied solely on men from France, "viri Francie." This assertion raises two different but related questions: Is it true that Baudouin II rejected advice from Greeks and sought it only from French nobles? And what, or rather whom, did he mean when he said "nobilium ac bonorum virorum Francie qui apud nos sunt"?

First, the denial. Baudouin II's absolute denial of the charge that he relied on Greek advisers lends credence to its veracity. Blanche had access to information about events in the East and received reports from men other than Baudouin II. His proposal that she query any visitors from the Latin Empire suggests that he was confident in what she would learn: that he only had Franks in his council.

Wolff treated the letter at face value, using it to disparage Baudouin II's policies and to contrast him unfavorably with his uncle Henri: "[S]ince Henry's death there had been no successor with the vision or wisdom to conciliate the Greeks."[594] Even if true, Baudouin II's denial does not necessarily speak to the Latin Empire's greater cultural insularity than in its first decades. His career provides little evidence that he was xenophobic or reluctant to negotiate and ally with foreigners. In fact, various events point to his willingness to engage with non-Westerners and even non-Christians. Baudouin II's upbringing exposed him to Greeks. A series of marriages, already discussed in this study, brought Greeks within his orbit. His sister Marie had, by all

[594] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 614.

accounts, a successful marriage with the Nicaean emperor. After her husband's death in 1222, she returned to Constantinople where she was *bailli* in 1228.[595] His brother, Robert, had been engaged to a Greek princess who resided in Constantinople for some time.[596] Instead of returning to Nicaea when the engagement was broken, she married Anseau de Cayeux, who held important positions in Baudouin II's government. Their marriage lasted into Baudouin II's reign, when the couple was together in Tzouroulos.[597] The French princess, Agnès, married two Byzantine emperors and ruled Adrianople after the Latin Conquest with her third husband, a Greek general. Their daughter, half French and half Greek by birth and probably wholly Greek by culture, married Narjot de Toucy, who acted as *bailli* several times.

All of these Latin-Greek marriages preceeded Baudouin II's elevation, and the disappearance of such alliances from the record could be taken as evidence that Baudouin II did not share the openness of some of his relatives and barons. Despite the absence of marriages, however, Baudouin II did not abandon truce negotiations with the Greeks. In the mid-1230s, during his teenage years, a papal delegation sought to negotiate a peace and possible church union with Nicaea. In the 1240s, Frederick II aided the Eastern emperor in arranging two year-long truces with Vatatzes. And later in his reign, Baudouin II was still interested in making peace with his Greek neighbors. After Michael VIII Palaiologos assumed the throne, the Latin emperor sent envoys with an ambitious request: that Nicaea relinquish Thessaloniki to the Franks in exchange for

[595] See her charter of February 1228. Lowenfeld, *Archives de l'Orient latin*, pp 256-57.
[596] Mouskès, *Chronique rimée*, ll 43195-206.
[597] See the account of Vatatzes's capture of the city. Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 47. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 245, ch 47.

peace.[598] These envoys, or perhaps different ones, may have even been Greek.[599] Outside of official contact, political and military intercourse between Franks and Greeks is attested in several instances. There were Franks in the Nicaean army, a contingent mentioned with respect in various episodes in Akropolites.[600] According to Akropolites, Palaiologos's first, failed attempt to capture Constantinople involved a plan for his cousin and old prisoner, Anseau, to open the gate and allow the Byzantine army in.[601] The identification of this Anseau is unresolved, but the story describes a level of interaction between Latins and Greeks during the end of Baudouin II's reign that does not square with Wolff's evaluation.[602] The evidence from the Latin Empire, then, although sporadic, points toward a willingness on the part of Baudouin II and other Franks to deal productively with the Greeks.

The lack of Greek men in Baudouin II's council more likely reflected the changed situation of the Latin Empire since his uncle Henri's reign than a hatred or distrust of Greeks. The empire in 1216 had included far more Greek subjects in Asia Minor and Thrace than in the early 1240s. A number of factors, including the growth of the Latin Empire's neighbors under Asen, Vatatzes, and Theodore Doukas, Robert's incompetence and Jean de Brienne's inaction combined to reduce the size of the area controlled by the Franks. If Akropolites' family is representative, a community of

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598 Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 78. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 351-52, ch 78.

599 Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, I: 149-51.

600 See the account of Michael Palailogos's trial, Theodore's campaign against Bulgaria and Michael's decision to assume the throne. Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 76. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, ch 50, 59, 76.

601 Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 83. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 368, ch 83.

602 For a discussion of Anseau's identity, see Georgios Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, trans. Ruth Macrides, Oxford Studies in Byzantium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 369, ftnt 3.

Greeks remained in Constantinople after the conquest and some fled during Courtenay rule.[603] With the reduced Greek population in Constantinople, along with the loss of Adrianople, Thessaloniki, and other Frankish possessions during the 1220s and 1230s, there were simply fewer Greeks available to serve Baudouin II.

It is not necessary to dismiss entirely the news reported to Blanche. The marriages of Frankish barons to Greek women produced bicultural partnerships and families. The reports received by Blanche might have referred to these individuals, who could legitimately be called, by Baudouin II, French but may have appeared Greek. Certainly, Philippe de Toucy, whose grandfather was Branas and grandmother the hellenized Agnès of France, served in important positions in the Latin Empire. Although he was French enough to meet the standards of Joinville and Louis IX, he, or others like him, may have seemed less than fully Western, especially when in Constantinople.

Perhaps even more likely was that Baudouin II was using a sleight of hand to obfuscate the truth. David Jacoby identified four different Greeks who served in Baudouin II's government and one who served him or the patriarch—as the *epi ton deeseon* (receiver of petitions), as high-level secretaries, in the treasury and as a clerk.[604] If Blanche was referring to these men, or some like them, Baudouin II could honestly deny that they were in his council but possibly avoid the question of whether it was appropriate to be employing Greeks at all. If Blanche's concerns were about the loyalty of Baudouin II's Greek officials, these anxieties were well founded. Of the five

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[603] According to Akropolites, his family stayed in Constantinople because of his expenses and obligations. His father sent him to Nicaea in 1233, during the reign of Jean de Brienne. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 46, ch 29. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 189, ch 29.
[604] Jacoby, "The Greeks of Constantinople under Latin Rule 1204-1261," pp 60-61. See also Jacoby, "Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean".

men that Jacoby identifies, one, the treasury official, advised the Byzantine commander on the capture of the city and the two secretaries, Nikephoros and Aloubardes, moved into the service of Palaiologos after 1261. In the end, whatever the actual composition of Baudouin II's advisery core, he confronted Blanche's concerns head-on and with an absolute denial. If he believed that Greeks could be useful advisers, he did not try to convince her of it. Her support was too important to do so.

This issue is worth approaching from a different direction. If Baudouin II's council consisted of "nobilium ac bonorum virorum Francie qui apud nos sunt," as he promised Blanche, who were the men who advised him? First of all, Baudouin's description excluded the Venetians who resided in Constantinople and provided frequent assistance to the Latin Empire. As other evidence affirms, they continued to maintain a separate identity from the Franks. A number of Baudouin II's advisers have already appeared in these pages. Some of them were men of an older generation, who had come from the West in a previous migration; others were of the emperor's generation and, like him, had been raised in the East. As noted, Jean de Béthune, who led the short-lived crusade in 1238, was probably related to the Fourth Crusader Conon de Béthune. An Anseau de Cayeux, the son or grandson of the Fourth Crusader of the same name, was regent in 1238 and he, or an aristocrat of the same name, governed Tzouroulos in the 1240s. The Fourth Crusader Anseau de Cayeux came from the northwest of France and took the cross in the company of the count of Saint-Pol.[605] Pierre and Yolande had also brought men with them in 1217. Narjot de Toucy, who hailed from near Auxerre, died in 1241. Narjot's son, Philippe, was regent during

[605] Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin*, pp 200-1.

Baudouin II's second absence in the West in the mid-1240s.[606] Geoffroy de Méry also appeared in the Latin Empire in 1219 and became constable. His son, Guillaume, married a Cuman princess in 1241.[607] These men were from French and Flemish families, although they themselves were sometimes one or perhaps two generations removed from residence in the West. Baudouin II maintained that they, and presumably he himself, preserved their French identity despite their entirely Eastern careers. The barons, some of them born and raised in the East as was Baudouin II himself, were, according to this formulation, French men in the East, not Easterners with a French heritage. Moreover, with his acceptance of Blanche's criticism, Baudouin II implied that the Latin Empire was, properly, an extension of France and thus that his advisers should be purely French, whoever else might be resident in empire and even involved in imperial affairs.

Although Baudouin II's response to Blanche's criticism emphasized his own Frenchness and that of his empire, his other surviving letter to her affirmed the distance and difference already announced by his disagreement with Louis IX over the fate of Courtenay. Baudouin II's remarkable letter laid out the possibility of an alliance between the Latin Empire and the sultan of Konya, an alliance that would unite them against Vatatzes, their common enemy.[608] Since he lacked appropriate female relatives in Constantinople, the emperor wanted one of his nieces to come from France and

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[606] See especially AD Yonne, H 1561, but also AD Yonne, 815bis, AD Yonne, H 1435, AD Yonne, H 1636, AD Yonne, H 1669, AD Yonne, H 1848. Hervé and Mathilde, count and countess of Nevers, guaranteed their protection to the chapter of Auxerre should Narjot return from Constantinople and harrass the chapter. AD Yonne, G 1846. Petit also included a number of Toucy charters, Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, III: 405, 412, 415-16, 418, 429, 435,439, 453, 458, 467-68, 474-75, 484, nos. 1224, 1126, 1157, 1167, 1180, 1241, 1259, 1335, 1356, 1395, 1398, 1425-26, 1468. For a discussion of the Toucy in the east see Longnon, "Les Toucy en Orient et en Italie au treizième siècle".
[607] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 950.
[608] The full text of the letter is published in Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 424-26.

marry the sultan. The letter to Blanche sought her support in this endeavor. In content, tone and structure, Baudouin II employed his best persuasive techniques to overcome Blanche's expected reluctance and convince her of the proposal's adantages.

Indeed, the proposed alliance—between a Muslim Turk and a French noble—was a surprising one. Muslim-Christian alliances were a feature of Eastern life, particularly for the Byzantines, but marriages were less so. A variety of circumstances in the early 1240s made an alliance between the Franks and the Turks especially, albeit briefly, appealing to both sides. The deaths, in 1241, of John Asen, Manuel Doukas, Narjot de Toucy, and Gregory IX had changed the dynamics of politics in the East and the West. With Gregory IX's death, the Latin Empire had lost its most vigorous Western advocate, and the ensuing two-year vacancy in Rome, followed by the flare-up of the conflict between the papacy and Frederick II, distracted Rome from its support for the Latin Empire. In the East, on the other hand, the balance of power shifted and the Latin Empire gained a brief respite from its enemies.

In 1241, Baudouin II's capture of Tzouroulos was followed by a second Frankish victory. Vatatzes, in response to the campaign north of Constantinople, had embarked on a naval expedition, capturing several Frankish possessions and then sailing to Constantinople itself. The Venetian podestà launched his ships, defeated the larger Nicaean fleet, and raised the siege.[609] In Bulgaria, Asen's son Kaliman succeeded him

[609] Greek and Western sources recount the Latin victories. Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 37. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 203-4, ch 37. Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 298: "Anno ducis XIIIo Iohanes Vatacius, qui Federici imperatoris filiam sibi copulaverat, cum galeis XXV et alliis navigiis per mare, et cum multitudine copiosa equitum et peditum in terram, urbem obsedit: Tunc Iohanes Michael, pro Venetis potestas Constantinopolitanus, armatis XVI galeis, egrediens, Grecos bello agrediture, et decem illorum galeas, reliquis fugatis cepit, et sic civitas ab obsidione liberatur."

and renewed peace treaties with Vatatzes and Constantinople.[610] Asens's death proved damaging to Bulgaria, which would not, within the span of the Latin Empire, rebound to its previous strength. This development deprived Vatatzes of an active ally against Constantinople.[611] Bulgaria's retreat from an aggressive stance toward the Latin Empire, which had been building since 1237, along with Baudouin II's recent victories in 1240–1241, made an attack on Constantinople a risky prospect for Vatatzes. Instead, the Nicaean emperor agreed to a two-year treaty with the Latin Empire, one facilitated by Frederick II, and turned to the problem posed by Thessaloniki.[612]

Even more significant in transforming the environment around Constantinople were the Mongol invasions into the Middle East and Eastern Europe. Béla IV had already invoked the Mongol threat in communications with Gregory IX and asked for a crusade to defend Hungary's borders.[613] In 1241, the Mongols decimated Hungarian forces, with ensuing population losses estimated at fifteen to twenty percent, putting an end to any hopes of Hungarian support for the Latin Empire.[614] Further south, the Mongols invaded Asia Minor and defeated the Turks. The news was serious; in response, Vatatzes wrapped up his campaign in the West, coming to an agreement with

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[610] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 950, ll 12-15, 23-24. Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 39. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 210-15, ch 39. Akropolites gave Asen a positive evaluation, particularly noting his generosity to foreigners as well as his own people. See p. 138 above.

[611] Despite the history of cooperation between Bulgaria and Nicaea, the alliance was far from certain. Akropolites twice stated that Vatatzes focused on Thessaloniki because "a young man ruled over the land of the Bulgarians." Translation from Ibid., p. 215, ch 40. Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 40.

[612] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines recorded the treaties with Bulgaria and Nicaea: "Ceterum ab hoc festo sancti Iohannis in biennium firmaverunt Constantinopolitani treugas ad Colmannum Alsani filium et ad Vastachium et eius filium." Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 950, ll 23-24. Akropolites offered an account of Vatatzes's move against Thessaloniki. Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 40. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 215-16, ch 40.

[613] Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000– c. 1300*, p. 164.

[614] See Berend's discussion of the seriousness of the invasion. Ibid., pp 34-38.

the Doukai, and returned to Asia Minor.[615] Fearing further attacks, the sultan sought allies in the Latin Empire and Nicaea. As a potential ally, Nicaea was a logical choice. Although the two neighbors often met in battle, they also had a history of alliances. Prior treaties had been arranged in 1211 and 1231, the latter also prompted by the Mongol threat. At times, the relationship was even friendly, reflected in Akropolites' reference to an unnamed sultan as an "intimate associate" of Theodore Laskaris's.[616] In 1237, the Turks gave Manuel Doukas safe passage after his ship ran aground at Attalos, apparently because of his relationship with Vatatzes.[617]

In addition to this history, Nicaea was much better able than was the Latin Empire to aid the Turks in their resistance to the Mongols. The Greeks were far stronger and already established in Asia Minor. Given these advantages, the resulting treaty between the sultan and Vatatzes is no surprise, and the positive relationship between Nicaea and the Turks held for many years.[618]

Before this treaty was finalized, however, the Turks also reached out to the Latin Empire. Baudouin II treated the possibility of an alliance seriously and promoted it enthusiastically to Blanche. A treaty had precedent. In 1228, Narjot de Toucy, as *bailli*, sent an envoy to negotiate a truce with the sultan against Vatatzes.[619] There were other interactions: Westerners, probably men originally in the service of the Latin Empire, served in the Turkish army in the 1230s and 1240s.[620] The alliance suggested

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[615] Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 40. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 215-16, ch 40.
[616] Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 6. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 118, ch 6. See Macrides's comments at *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 119, ftnt 7.
[617] Acropolites, *Opera*, ch 38. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 207, ch 38.
[618] See below, chapter 6.
[619] Cessi, *Deliberazioni del Maggior Consiglio di Venezia*, I: 208, no. 134.
[620] See discussion in Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," pp 606-9.

by Baudouin II, however, was of a different type than were previous contacts. According to his own description, it was to be permanent, solidified, and confirmed with a marriage. In his letter, Baudouin II carefully explained the alliance's appeal to Blanche: the sultan's wealth and power, the proximity of his lands to Nicaea, and their common hostility toward Vatatzes. The letter then proposed a marriage between the sultan and Baudouin II's niece and sought to reassure Blanche's concerns about both the political and personal components of the alliance and to obtain her support for it.

A recapitulation of the proposal does not do justice to the letter's crafting, which conditioned the reader, more particularly Blanche, to hear the proposal favorably. The opening of the letter lingered on the relationship between Baudouin II and Blanche. The standard *salutatio* was followed by the repetition of similar sentiments in different language.[621] Baudouin II then reminded Blanche of his absolute dependence on her help, a theme that appears repeatedly in this and his other letter to the French queen: "Truly, indeed, we should understand, and we want to acknowledge, that we obtain no assistance at all, unless procured thanks to your grace."[622] After setting the stage, both by reminding Blanche of his affection for her and by emphasizing the central importance of her help, Baudouin II launched into a description of his situation. Here, he provided the rationale for the alliance: the wealth and power of the sultan, the geographic reality that sandwiched Nicaean lands between the Franks and the Turks, and the common enemy in Vatatzes. The terms were appealing, if vague. They

[621] Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 424: "Nouerit excellentia vestra, nos gratia Diuina praestante plena corporis hilaritate gaudere." The *salutatio* is not striking: "EXCELLENTISSIME dominae BLANCHAE, dei gratia francorum reginae illustrissimae, BALDUINUS eadem gratia fidelissimus in Christo imperator, à Deo coronatus, Romaniae moderator, et semper augustus, consanfuineus suus, salutem et prosperorum successuum cum assidua felicitate, continuum incrementum."
[622] Ibid.: "Verè enim scire debemus, et volumus confiteri, nos nullum penitus obtinuisse subsidium, nisi sublimitatis vestrae gratia procurante."

encompassed not only a nonaggression pact, but also a requirement that each side support the other, as much as was feasible, against threats and not enter into friendship with the other's enemies without consultation.[623] Such an agreement would provide the Latin Empire with a potent ally against Vatatzes, one who could harass Nicaea's eastern frontier and prevent the Greeks from launching an all-out strike on Constantinople.

Baudouin II's account of the negotiations highlighted the sultan's great status and his position in the universe of civilized nations. He acted as a Western ruler should, receiving envoys with honor and sending prestigious ones in turn. The emperor emphasized the sultan's elite position, describing him and his holdings "the Sultan of Iconia, a most powerful lord, there being no pagan, we believe, richer than him, ruling in neighboring areas and near our fortifications.[624] According to Baudouin II, the negotiations were conducted with great honor, each side sending important men as messengers who were welcomed and honored at the other court. This description, focused on secular similarities, turned attention away from religious difference and made the sultan appear familiar. In this portrait, the sultan was a man who could be dealt with and trusted.

Having laid his foundation, Baudouin II then specified the need for a bride in order to secure the alliance, providing assurances as to her continued faithfulness to her religion and casting the lure of introducing Christianity to Turkish lands. According to Baudouin II, the sultan himself had suggested such an alliance. "So, in order to confirm

[623] The terms of the treaty were expressed in flowery language but were short on specific mechanisms. Ibid.: "et omnes amici nostri sint amici fui, et omnes inimici nostri inimici sui, et similiter sui nostri, et alter alterum pro posse suo teneatur ad inuicem adiuuare, nec possit alter nostrum cum aliquibus inimicis suis compositionem vel pacem facere, sine reliqui consilio et consensu."

[624] Ibid.: "Soldanum de Ycon, Dominum potentissimum, quo nullum ditiorem credimus esse Paganum, tenentem in propinquis, ac vicinis nobis moenibus Dominatum."

the said agreement and friendship entirely, he asked for a noble woman of our people in marriage."[625] By specifying that the sultan raised the possibility, Baudouin II affirmed the sultan's sincerity and his genuine commitment to the terms presented. The bride would not be required to abandon her religion; on the contrary she could remain a devout Christian, maintain chapelains and clerics and be attended only by Christian servants. In effect, she would bring a small Christian world into Muslim lands. Beyond the personal realm, the sultan promised to build churches in his territory and to place those churches under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. The sultan's envoy even suggested that if his bride treated him with love, the sultan might be swayed to convert to Christianity. This marriage would expand Christendom in Turkish lands, possibly extending to the highest stratum.

After proposing the marriage, Baudouin II returned to earlier points. He mentioned again the prestigious envoy and reiterated his high evaluation of the sultan's position and the fruitfulness of an alliance against Vatatzes. In doing so, he deftly framed the marriage with the inducements for it. Finally, at the very end of the letter, came the request itself: a plea that Blanche induce and advise his sister, Élisabeth, and her husband, Eudes of Montaigu, to send their daughter to be the sultan's bride. The queen was expected to add her inducements to those of Baudouin II's messenger, a certain Henri Verjus, who was raised with some of the Courtenay siblings and could be

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[625] Ibid.: "Item pro dicta confoederatione tenenda et amicitia plenius confirmanda petiit una mulierem de nostro genere, in uxorem."

trusted to deliver the emperor's request.[626] Henri's close relationship with the Courtenays put him in a privileged position to persuade Élisabeth of the plan.

Baudouin II's description of the alliance and marriage reflected his expectations concerning Blanche's reaction. It anticipated that Blanche would balk on both personal and political grounds, and it covered both. Although the letter dealt with many issues, the bride's ability to maintain her religious allegiance was the predominant concern, and Baudouin II provided absolute assurance on this matter. Not only would she have personal freedom, but also she would be surrounded with other Christians, thus reducing the temptations to conversion.

With these assurances, Baudouin II responded to a common anxiety about Christian-Muslim relationships, namely that Christians married to or in service to Muslims would be persuaded or coerced into conversion.[627] The anxiety about intimacy between religious groups is more fully expressed, and that expression preserved, in relation to Hungary. Nora Berend's recent work on non-Christians in Hungary has investigated the interplay among Hungary's status as a frontier society, its elites' approach to non-Christians, and the attitudes of Westerners, particularly popes, toward Hungary and its non-Christian population. As she revealed, Hungary's position on the edge of Christendom and its relatively recent conversion to Christianity heightened and focused papal concerns about interfaith relationships. These conditions combined to create an impression that Hungary was just barely, or perhaps only temporarily, Christian. As a result, the popes were concerned that non-Christians, specifically

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[626] Ibid.: "Pro negotio autem isto complendo dilectum et dielem ac familiarem militem nostrum Henricum Verius latorem praesentium, qui cum fratribus et sororibus nostris semper fuit nutritus." Unfortunately, nothing else is known about Henri.
[627] Jarbel Rodriguez, *Captives & Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America Press, 2007).

Muslims and pagans, would seduce Hungarian Christians away from the faith. More than thirty years after Baudouin II's letter to Blanche, this anxiety about apostasy reached its pinnacle with the figure of King László IV, who was the son of a Cuman woman and who set aside his Christian wife for a Cuman mistress. His personal situation and political actions, which included resistance to papal instructions and reliance on Cumans as political allies, encouraged charges that he had abandoned Christianity. Citing in part a purported alliance with the Mongols, the pope called for a crusade against him, which László IV's assassination in 1290 forestalled.[628]

Like Hungary, the Latin Empire was on the edge of Christendom. Both shared borders with and even sheltered within their boundaries Eastern Christians, pagans, and Muslims. The circumstances of the two polities, however, were vastly different. Hungary was an established state as the Latin Empire never would be. Béla IV loudly trumpeted threats to Hungary's very existence, but only the Mongols posed a serious risk to the state. Although the Mongol attacks put severe pressure on Hungary and resulted in large loss of life, they did not destroy the polity. The Latin Empire, in contrast, was under great and constant threat from many sides, which it withstood only for fifty-seven years. Menacing forces repeatedly approached the walls of Constantinople during this period and often the walls themselves, not the defending forces, dissuaded the attackers. On the other hand, the Christianity of the Latin Empire never came into question. Its status as a crusader state inhabited and ruled by crusaders provided a bulwark against suspicions that its rulers had abandoned the true faith. Over-familiarity with non-Western Christians, as cited in Blanche's letter, was not

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[628] See Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000– c. 1300*, pp 171-83.

interpreted as abandonment of allegiance to Rome. Other circumstances also affirmed the position of the Latin Empire as indisputably within Christendom. The emperors and nobles in the Latin Empire were, at most, two generations removed from western Europe. Unlike the Hungarians, who entered Western Christendom at a fairly late stage, the settlers in Constantinople came from areas long ago Christianized. Finally, Constantinople was a visibly and prominently Christian city, an ancient and prominent patriarchate and home to an array of dazzling relics and religious institutions. Its capture by Westerners in 1204 returned it, from the point of view of the papacy, to its proper place in Christendom, in adherence to Rome. Although the Latin Empire's political future was unstable, its religious adherence was firm.

The marriage proposed by the sultan and accepted by Baudouin II has several parallels in thirteenth-century Hungary. The marriage, in either 1247 or 1254, between Béla IV's son Istvan and the Cuman princess Erzsébet is the most apparent.[629] As with the proposed Franco-Turkish alliance, this marriage accompanied a high-level alliance, one intended to be enduring. In writing to the pope, Béla IV emphasized the absolutely essential status of the alliance in ensuring the safety and welfare of Hungarian Christians, just as Baudouin II touted the advantages attendant upon an agreement with the sultan. In the 1250s, Béla IV also proposed an alliance with the Mongols, which included a marriage. This suggestion, known from the papal response, was absolutely rejected. Alexander IV and Urban IV staunchly opposed the idea of a marriage alliance,

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[629] This alliance, of course, had its own parallels in the marriages between Frankish men and Cuman women in 1239–1241. See pp 141, 201-2 above.

arguing that the Mongols sought to trick the Hungarians and gain their help fighting other Christians.[630]

Blanche's response to Baudouin II's plea does not survive. The popes' reluctance, however, to countenance such marriages in the case of Hungary suggests that Blanche would also be resistant. One factor in particular made the marriage proposed by Baudouin II worrying**.** In the case of Istvan and Erzsébet, the non-Christian foreigner was the wife and not the husband, and she came and integrated into Christian society through baptism and a settled Christian life. In theory, as with the marriages of Frankish nobles to Cuman women, her marriage was the mechanism through which her entire people would become settled Christians.[631] Baudouin II's niece, on the other hand, would go into Muslim territory.[632] The letter suggests that she too could be a tool of conversion by bringing Christianity with her, but that was only suggested as a possibility and would result from, not precede or coincide with, the marriage. Yet all these examples show how marriages, the resulting kinship, and accompanying alliances were perceived as tools of conversion.

Baudouin II's letters to Louis IX and Blanche contain a hint of the frontier ideology developed and aggressively employed by Béla IV in his correspondence with the papacy. Baudouin II lacked Béla IV's confidence and his military and financial

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[630] C. Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, Registres des papes 15 (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1902), no. 2963; Theiner, *VMH*, I: 240-41, no. CCCCLIV. Jean Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, Registres des papes du XIIIe siècle 13 (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1884), p. 154, nos. 1242-43; Theiner, *VMH*, pp 264-65, nos. CCCCLXXXIII-CCCCLXXXIV. Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000– c. 1300*, pp 166-69.

[631] Berend unpacks with delicacy the notion of "Christian" as it pertains to the Cumans and demonstrates that for the church Christianity was linked to a settled lifestyle and an abandonment of pagan dress and lifestyle, as well as an acceptance of Christian belief. The church perceived the Cuman tendency toward syncretism as evidence of their continued paganism. Ibid., pp 244-58.

[632] For concerns about the dangers facing Christian women in Muslim lands in the Iberian context, see Rodriguez, *Captives & Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*.

strength. Whereas Béla IV made demands to the papacy, Baudouin II sent pleas. The underlining message was the same, however. For states on the edge of Christendom, different rules should apply. Louis IX's objection to the transfer of Courtenay reflected, in Baudouin II's view, the center's lack of understanding of circumstances on the periphery. In his attempt to arrange an interfaith marriage, the emperor also tried to teach the center, here represented by Blanche, about life—geography, religion, allies and enemies—on the outer edge of Christendom. Baudouin II's approach to Blanche reflected his expectation that she would not understand these matters. He felt it necessary to explain the status of the sultan and the geography of the region. He also provided the following information, in support of the contention that the sultan would allow his wife to keep Christian belief and practice: "So indeed the sultan was a son of a Greek Christian, his father was similarly married to a Christian Greek the whole time of his life. Indeed many noble Pagans in these parts have Christian wives, who continue assiduously in the law, including Greeks, Armenians, Tverians and Russians."[633] As much as he relied on Blanche's advice and assistance, he considered her uninformed about matters "in partibus illis," that is, in the East. Louis IX and Blanche may not have questioned Baudouin II's Christianity, as the pope challenged that of the Hungarian kings, but they opposed his mechanisms for dealing with the nature of life in the East and rebuked his efforts to deviate from practices and attitudes as accepted in France. These four letters, precious because of their rarity, provide a window into the myriad ways in which life for Westerners who moved East was

[633] Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 424: "Ipse enim soldanus fuit filius Christianae Grecae, uam pater suus similiter in lege Christiana Greca tenuit toto tempore vitae suae. Multi etiam nobiles Pagani in partibus illis habent uxores Christianas, quae in lege sea assidue perseuerant, videlicet Grecae, Armeniacae, Tuerae, et Rossae."

radically transformed. The web of lordship and family, which Baudouin II participated in in Europe and attempted to use to his advantage, was more set and structured than he would have liked. The prejudices and opinions of Westerners, even those as cosmopolitan as Blanche of Castile and Louis IX, hindered his efforts to secure resources, financing, and allies for his faltering empire. In these letters, Baudouin II tried to overcome these obstacles, present in the minds of his Western allies, but he failed.

CHAPTER 6:

THE LATIN EMPIRE AND EUROPEAN POLITICS, 1243–1246

In late 1243, Baudouin II followed his letters to Blanche of Castile with a visit to the West. Lock presented Baudouin II's time in the West as continuous, but, in fact, there was a four-year break between his two visits and he exhibited different strategies during each.[634] Any attempt to provide context for this visit comes up against the limited nature of the record for these years, which makes it impossible to identify an immediate cause for his journey, although a need for funds and, possibly, personal inclination, seem the most likely reasons. The most detailed chronciler of the East, Akropolites, was uncharacteristically silent about the period between 1243 and 1246 and no other source intervenes to provide an extensive narrative of events in and around Constantinople. Here, the loss of Aubri de Trois-Fontaines and Philippe Mouskès is keenly felt. The available sources, however, suggest that affairs in Constantinople were in neither particularly good nor particularly catastrophic shape. Of course, the risk, especially from Nicaea, was still present. The Turks and Nicaean Greeks concluded a treaty in 1243, and, at the same time, the Mongol threat retreated temporarily. In Thessaloniki, John Doukas had been compelled to forsake his imperial title for that of despot and had sworn fealty to the Nicaean emperor. He died in 1244 and was succeeded by his brother Demetrios, although their father Theodore Doukas remained the real power. Michael II Doukas, who controlled Epiros, was focused on affairs in Greece. With his eastern border secure and the Doukai, at least superficially, reconciled

[634] Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, p. 63.

to Nicaean authority, Vatatzes could have turned his attention toward Constantinople.[635] Yet, the evidence argues against Nicaea mounting a direct attack between 1243 and 1246.

Mathew Paris did claim that "the emperor of Constantinople was fleeing from the persecution of the Greeks."[636] I think, however, that danger from ongoing attacks can safely be discounted as an immediate cause. Mathew Paris did not provide any details and quickly offered a second reason for this visit: extreme poverty.[637] It should be no surprise that Matthew Paris embellished on the empire's situation. He relished the dire straits in which the Latin Empire found itself. He had similarly asserted that Baudouin II had been "banished and outlawed from the empire" at the time of his first visit, an evocative but inaccurate description.[638] The author of the fanciful *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims* also attributed Baudouin II's journey to the West to his need for money, adding the detail that his inability to pay his men had caused them to return to their homelands.[639] Baudouin II's behavior, discussed in detail below, provides support for the proposition that general poverty rather than immediate military danger prompted his trip. He was willing to remain for months in the papal curia, although immediate

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[635] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 136-42.
[636] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 299: "Ipsoque eodem tempore, cum fugisset imperator Constantinopolitanus a persecutione Graecorum."
[637] Ibid.: "nec quicquam haberet in aerario, ut guerram amplius continuaret et Graecorum impetus continuos sustineret, confugit ad consilium et auxilium imperatoris Romanorum Fretherici."
[638] Ibid., III: 480: "Eodem quoque anno, aetate adolescens, imperator Constantinopolitanus B[aldewinus], filius Petri comitis Autissiodorensis, venit in Angliam, expulsus et proscriptus ab imperio, auxilium petiturus."
[639] Natalis de Wailly, ed., *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims au treizième siècle* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1876), p.224, ch 437: "Et li empereres Baudouins estoit juenes et enfantis; si despendi largement, et ne prist pas garde à son affaire; si fu povres et endeteiz, et n'ot que donneir aus chevaliers et aus serjanz. Si s'en partirent de lui une granz partie, et s'en ralerent en leur païs. Et quant li empereres vit qu'ainsi estoit, si ot conseil qu'il venroit en France à l'apostoile qui estoit à Lion, et à la roïne qui estoit ante sa famme, et requerroit ajue à l'apostoile et à la roïne."

assistance was not forthcoming. Had the city been under serious attack, one would expect him to launch a heavy recruitment campaign.

It is more likely that events in the West guided Baudouin II's decision to embark on his journey at that particular moment. In the spring of 1243, a letter arrived in Constantinople from Frederick II, detailing the steps he had taken to encourage a papal election. He bemoaned the state of the church, torn apart by discord and schism and left adrift without a leader.[640] The letter focused entirely on the church and affirmed, repeatedly, the author's desire for its rejuvenation. In the two years of papal interregnum (interrupted only by the brief and forgettable interlude of Celestine IV), observers had increasingly blamed Frederick II for obstructing the election of a new pope. This charge was not unfounded. In the spring of 1241, the Western emperor had captured a number of bishops and two cardinals on their way to the church council. Two years later, he still held the cardinals, namely the bishop James of Palestrina, who had earned Frederick II's enmity with his involvement in Lombardy in the mid-1230s, and Otto of St. Nicholas, who was apparently won over to the imperial cause during his captivity. The incarceration of these men and the poor treatment of James of Palestrina had already injured Frederick II's reputation.[641] As the interregnum continued, with the cardinals in Rome divided over the choice of a new pope, his refusal to release his prisoners took on a greater importance, since their participation might break the

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[640] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI: 90: "Orbis mutilatio propter dissensiones et schismata et totius humani generis turbulentie que propter Ecclesie viduitatem antiqui serpentis effuso veneno emerserunt et irruerunt."

[641] For French views of Frederick II's capture of the prelates see Chris Jones, *Eclipse of Empire?: Perceptions of the Western Empire and Its Rulers in Late-Medieval France* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp 37, 45, 80-82, 93. Even Matthew Paris reported the sufferings on the voyage and in their prison. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 129-30.

impasse.[642] Frederick II, understandably, was loath to set James and Otto free without a significant concession in return, perhaps even a pope of his own choosing. As the months passed, however, the cardinals became more intransigent and, after the death of Celestine VI, they refused to hold a new election until James was freed.[643]

Frederick II's letter to Baudouin II announced his decision to free the cardinals. He portrayed himself in the best possible light, noting that he released them regardless of his own safety or interests because of his great desire to further the selection of a new pope.[644] The letter was part of Frederick II's larger campaign to explain his position and his reasons for opposing the papacy. Constantinople was a little far afield for such propoganda, but in his visit to the West, Baudouin II had established himself among the ranks of Western nobles and as a favorite of the Capetian monarchy and the then pope, Gregory IX. The very existence of the letter demonstrates that, in the five years since Frederick II detained the forces of Jean de Béthune, the two emperors had repaired their relationship, although the mechanism of this reconciliation is unknown. They may have been communicating more broadly about affairs in the East. In 1241–1242, Frederick II's daughter, Anna-Constance, married Vatatzes, giving the Western emperor influence there.[645]

In June of 1243, the hope that Frederick II expressed to Baudouin II was realized when Innocent IV was selected as the new pontiff. His tenure opened on an

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[642] Mathew Paris expounded in several places on the delay in the election and the desire of Christians to have a new pope. Ibid., IV: 164-65, 170, 172-74, 194, 249.
[643] See the account in Abulafia, *Frederick II: a Medieval Emperor*, pp 346-54. When describing the cardinals' refusal to elect a new pope, Mathew Paris recounted that "Veruntamen instanter dominum imperatorem postulabant, ut si se pacis ac libertatis ecclesiasticae haberi cuperet aemulatorem, sub bonae pacis spe certissima, quos adhuc tenuit incarceratos praelatos, ecclesiae, liberos abire permitteret." Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 240.
[644] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI: 90-92.
[645] See below for a full discussion of the marriage.

optimistic note for the Latin Empire. In July, the new pope instructed the dioceses in Greece and the Archipelago to start collecting ten thousand hyperpers for the aid of the Latin Empire.[646] Two weeks later, he followed with the assignment of a tenth from clergy of the Morea and Negropont to the patriarch of Constantinople.[647] The rapidity of these actions suggested that Innocent IV, like his predecessor Gregory IX, would be Baudouin II's ally. There was more to be done, however; the pope had not yet marshaled Western resources in support of the Latin Empire. Armed, then, with the foreknowledge provided by Frederick II and the news of Innocent IV's ascension and his actions in favor of the Latin Empire, Baudouin II decided to travel west. He had reason to hope that his arrival would move Innocent IV to expand his efforts in favor of the Latin Empire, which had so far focused on raising money in Greece, to the rest of Christendom. His previous visit had demonstrated the power of personal relationships and face-to-face encounters in drumming up aid. It had encouraged Gregory IX's promotion of a crusade to the Latin Empire and resulted in significant financial support from Louis IX. Unfortunately, in the mid-1240s Innocent IV, Frederick II, and Louis IX, while all sympathetic to the Franks' cause, had other concerns that took precedence. For the pope and Western emperor, of course, their ongoing conflict was the first among these.[648] The fall of Jerusalem in 1244, the crusade of Louis IX, and the continued threat of the Mongols in the East also distracted these leaders and their successors from a full-bodied support for the Latin Empire.

Baudouin II, Innocent IV, and Frederick II

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[646] Élie Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, Registres des papes 1 (Paris: Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1884), I: 6-7, no. 22.
[647] Ibid., I: 8-9, 21, nos. 33, 94.
[648] For view of this period, mostly sympathetic to Abulafia, *Frederick II: a Medieval Emperor*, pp 349-74.

The struggle between pope and Western emperor consumed Baudouin II's time and energy during the first year and a half of his visit. He entangled himself in the conflict, intervening almost as Frederick II's representative in an attempt to secure a peace. His actions reflected an understanding that the dispute engrossed both parties and hindered their ability and desire to support to his cause. If he brokered in a solution, not only would it free up the resources, time, and energy of Western rulers, but also their gratitude ought to incline them to support him.[649] For Baudouin II, this was a new approach to obtaining aid. In the 1230s, he had maximized his own resources—family, relics, and land; in this second journey he worked to free the energies of two men who proclaimed their desire to support the Latin Empire.

Baudouin II began his visit in Rome, as he had seven years previously. His transformation from an observer to a participant in the negotiations can be traced in both papal and imperial documents.[650] In December of 1243, Frederick II wrote to a correspondent in Rome about the papal overtures for peace.[651] Julius Ficker argued that Baudouin II was the recipient, based on the salutation "serenitas vestra."[652] No one else in Rome at the time merited such a distinction, and Frederick II had similarly referred to Baudouin II in his earlier letter as "vestra celsitudo."[653] Other circumstantial evidence supports this conclusion. The very existence of an earlier letter to Baudouin II increases

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[649] See the discussion in Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p 619-24

[650] The most extensive of these is Frederick II's encyclical chronicling the negotiations and their failure, written in the summer of 1244. The letter is preserved in *Monumenta germaniae historica, constitutiones et acta publicat imperatorum et regum* (Vimariae: H. Böhlau, 1893), II: 341-51, no. 252 and in Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI: 204-22. Frederick II recounted at great length and with significant repetition the demands of each side. Unsurprisingly, he lingered on the pope's unreasonableness, his own willingness to comply with papal demands, and his deep desire for absolution, which Innocent IV withheld.

[651] Ibid., V: 197-98.

[652] Ibid..

[653] Ibid., VI: 92.

the likelihood of others. The two extant letters share a similar emphasis on Frederick II's desire for peace and his eagerness to come to terms. The Latin emperor's later involvement in the peace process also suggests a scenario in which, during this early phase, Frederick II saw in Baudouin II a potential ally.

In March of 1244 Baudouin II was present at the signing of a peace that, for the moment, kept the Western emperor off the papal list of excommunicates.[654] In letters describing the agreement, both Innocent IV and Frederick II noted Baudouin II's presence.[655] Both the papal and imperial lists of the envoys exclude him, confirming that he was not considered a representative of either side, but even this somewhat passive participation was worthy of note.[656] In the spring of 1244, peace appeared possible but was not yet achieved. The agreement, although it resolved in theory a number of thorny matters such as the control of northern Italian cities and papal primacy in the spiritual realm, lacked a mechanism for implementing its provisions. On the one hand, Innocent IV did not want to absolve Frederick II without definitive evidence of his military disengagement; on the other, Frederick II felt that he had demonstrated his willingness to work with the papacy and his desire to resume his position as a dutiful son of the church. He wanted absolution before he made military

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[654] Frederick II included the articles of the peace in a letter to Henry II. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 332-36. A useful summary of the events of the spring of 1244 is in Abulafia, *Frederick II: a Medieval Emperor*, pp 359-60.

[655] Innocent IV mentioned the agreement and Baudouin II's presence in April 1244 in a letter to the landgrave of Thuringia. *MGH Const.*, II: 340, no. 249: "presentibus carissimo in Christo filio nostro Constantinopolitano imperatore illustri." Mathew Paris preserved one of Frederick II's letter to Henry III in which he noted: "de alia terra compromittatur in imperatorem Constantinopolitanum, dominos Ottonem cardinalem et archiepiscopum Rothomagensem, ita quod ipsi de jure cognoscunt, sicut fuerit cognoscendum." Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 336.

[656] Both Innocent IV and Frederick II named the western imperial envoys, Raymond de Toulouse, Petrus de Vinea, and Thaddeus de Suessa. For Innocent IV, see *MGH Const.*, II: 340, no. 251. For Frederick II see Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 331-32.

concessions.[657] Witnessing the agreement and the subsequent impasse, Baudouin II saw an opportunity. Trusted by both sides and without a specific agenda in the negotiations, other than peace, he was in an ideal position to facilitate this final step.

According to Frederick II, Baudouin II was among those, including "the count of Toulouse and other nobles and religious men," who urged the pope to absolve the Western emperor quickly.[658] Frederick II also mentioned Baudouin II and Raymond de Toulouse as present alongside an unspecified group of cardinals when Innocent IV attached conditions to Frederick II's absolution.[659] The Latin ruler's appearance with Raymond de Toulouse, an ally and envoy of Frederick II's, suggests that he was in the imperial camp. By June of 1244, this allegiance was certain: He was with Frederick II, witnessing one of the Western emperor's charters.[660]

By this point, Baudouin II was also playing an active role in the negotiations. As Frederick II described the climax of the negotiations, he mentioned Baudouin II first in the list of envoys sent to the curia and twice after that, each time with the count of Toulouse. Baudouin II and Raymond de Toulouse made trips between the pope and the Western emperor, attempting, on Frederick II's behalf, to arrange a meeting between the two parties. But at the end of June of 1244, Innocent IV's reluctance to solidify arrangements for the meeting transformed into an outright refusal as he fled to Genoa and, eventually, to Lyon where he would remain for the rest of Frederick II's life.[661]

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[657] Abulafia, *Frederick II: a Medieval Emperor*, pp 361-62. For Frederick II's frustration about Innocent IV's refusal to absolve him see: *MGH Const.*, II: 341-51, no. 252.
[658] Ibid., II: 345, no. 252: "imperatore Constantinopolitano, qui presens erat et casum imperii Romanie et fere tocius Orientalis Terre miserabiliter causabatur, nec non comite Tholesano et quam pluribus aliis nobilibus et religiosis viris suppliciter et instanter instantibus et nequeuntibus optinere."
[659] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI: 219: "Palam etiam coram cardinalibus, imperatore Constantinopolitano et comite Tolosano." *MGH Const.*, II: 350, no. 252.
[660] Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI: 195-97.
[661] *MGH Const.*, II: 351, no. 252.

Baudouin II returned to the Western imperial court and spent, most likely, a year as the Hohenstaufen emperor's guest.

Baudouin II's temporary attachment to Frederick II did not comport with his behavior on his previous visit. The papacy and the Capetians had been his greatest friends and supporters, and papal advocacy was essential if he expected to raise significant aid. In 1244, however, Frederick II was able to offer something the pope could not: a treaty with Nicaea. The Western emperor had been in contact with Vatatzes for several years. In 1238, the latter's promise of fealty had encouraged Frederick II to block the progress of Jean de Béthune's crusade.[662] Communications between the two parties continued, and in 1241–1242, Frederick II's daughter Anna-Constance married Vatatzes.[663] Little is known about the negotiations for this union, and Western sources give two different dates. Matthew Paris located the wedding in 1244, mentioning it along with the treaty of that year.[664] Dandolo, however, spoke of the marriage as completed in his entry for 1241.[665] From the Nicaean side, Akropolites, who might be expected to provide details, ignored the negotiations for the alliance and its celebration. His only mention of Vatatzes's second marriage arose in the context of the Nicaean emperor's affair with Anna-Constance's attendant.[666] Blemmydes also

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[662] See pp 182-84 above. Kiesewetter provided a summary of contacts during that period. A. Kiesewetter, "Die Heirat zwischen Konstanze-Anna von Hohenstaufen und Kaiser Johannes III. Batatzes con Nikaia (Ende 1240 oder Anfang 1241) und der Angriff des Johannes Batatzes auf Konstantinopel im Mai oder Juni 1241," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 41 (1999): 245-48.
[663] Martin argued persuasively that three letters, two previously dated to 1247/8 and one undated, actually belong to the period before 1241. J.-M. Martin, "O felix Asia! Frédéric II, l'Empire de Nicée et le "césaropapisme"," *Travaux et mémoires* 14 (2002): 476-77.
[664] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 299: "Interim procuravit idem imperator Frethericus, ut filiam suam cuidam magno principi Graecorum, nomini Battacio, matrimonio copularet."
[665] Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 298: "qui Federici imperatoris filiam sibi copulaverat."
[666] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 101-3, ch 52. Translation and commentary in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 271, ch 52. Ftnts 19 and 20, pp 274-74.

skipped over the wedding in favor of the affair.[667] The marriage, however, has been conclusively dated to 1241 or 1242 through a combination of charter evidence, uncovered by Stelian Brezeanu, and circumstantial factors, argued admirably by Andreas Kiesewetter.[668]

Baudouin II, always on the search for new Western allies, had reason to be both concerned and encouraged by Frederick II's alliance with Vatatzes. Frederick II might lend his support to Vatatzes and hinder Baudouin II's recruitment in the West, as he had in 1238. But if Frederick II could be persuaded to support the Latin Empire's cause, a prospect more likely since the death of his old enemy Jean de Brienne, his relationship with Vatatzes could be used to the Franks' advantage. The Franks had a great belief in the power of marriages to solidify shaky alliances and ensure periods of nonaggression and were thus likely to see in the German-Greek alliance possibilities to be exploited.

It is not hard to imagine that in the winter and spring of 1244, as he fruitlessly argued his case at the papal curia and watched the Western imperial envoys come and go, Baudouin II decided that Frederick II's help was valuable and worth exerting himself to get. His goal in these months was to secure aid—whether from the pope or Western emperor. After the Latin emperor had joined him, Frederick noted that, at an earlier stage in the negotiations, Baudouin II "was present and pled the cause of the

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[667] Vatatzes's mistress appeared twice in Blemmydes's autobiography because of an incident in which she entered Blemmydes's monastery and he had her removed. He also wrote a letter recounting it. For Blemmydes, it served as evidence of his willingness to stand up to earthly authority and to accept punishment in exchange for heavenly rewards. Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Nicephori Blemmydae autobiographia*, ed. Joseph A Munitiz, Corpus christianorum 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), pp 35-37, 67, 91-94. Translation in Nicephorus Blemmydes, *Nikephoros Blemmydes, a partial account*, trans. Joseph A Munitiz (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1988), pp 83-85, 118-19, 139-43.

[668] Kiesewetter, "Die Heirat zwischen Konstanze-Anna von Hohenstaufen und Kaiser Johannes III. Batatzes con Nikaia (Ende 1240 oder Anfang 1241) und der Angriff des Johannes Batatzes auf Konstantinopel im Mai oder Juni 1241," pp 249-50. St. Brezeanu, "Notice sur les rapports de Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen avec Jean III Vatatzès," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 12 (1974): 583-85.

empire of Romania and generally of all the eastern lands."[669] Frederick II's insertion of this statement into his account, which focused on the negotiations, suggests that Baudouin II had linked the possibility of peace with his need for aid. Mathew Paris also complained that the papal-imperial conflict inhibited efforts to act in the protection of Christendom, although he was speaking of the threat posed by the Mongols.[670] Baudouin II's move to the imperial camp obtained results. In 1244, according to Matthew Paris, Frederick II obtained a one-year truce with Vatatzes for the Latin Empire.[671] Matthew Paris's misdating of the marriage alliance to 1244 where it accompanied the treaty suggests the importance of the kin relationship in obtaining the peace. In 1250, letters from Frederick II to Vatatzes also confirm, at a later date, the closeness between father and son-in-law. No information survives as to the progress of the negotiations for the treaty, so it is impossible to reconstruct a causal relationship between them and Baudouin II's advocacy on Frederick II's behalf. Did Baudouin II lend his help to Frederick II because of the latter's willingness to open discussions with Vatatzes or did Frederick II's actions follow Baudouin II's work for peace? Despite this lack of certainty, as Wolff concluded, "that the two Emperors' diplomatic efforts on each other's behalf were connected it is hard to doubt."[672]

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[669] *MGH Const.*, II: 345, no. 252: "qui presens erat et casum imperii Romanie et fere tocius Orientalis Terre miserabiliter causabatur."

[670] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 277: "haec igitur terribilis epistola regum et magnatum corda, ad quos pervenit, vehementer sollicitasset, et ad injuriam Christi et universalis ecclesiae et totius Christianismi ulciscendam efficaciter erexisset, nisi Papae et imperatoris mutuum discidium totius mundi latitudinem perturbasset."

[671] Ibid., IV: 299: "Qui Graecis tum terribiliter comminando, tum consultius postulando, tandem treugas per annum unum impetravit."

[672] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 623. Wolff placed the marriage between Anna-Constance and Vatatzes to this period instead of the earlier one, but his point is still valid. See Kiesewetter, "Die Heirat zwischen Konstanze-Anna von Hohenstaufen und Kaiser Johannes III. Batatzes con Nikaia (Ende 1240 oder Anfang 1241) und der Angriff des Johannes Batatzes auf Konstantinopel im Mai oder Juni 1241," pp 239-50.

After June of 1244, Baudouin II disappears from sight until the imperial Diet in Verona in the spring of 1245.[673] He came to the Diet from the imperial town of Modena, a hint that he had spent the intervening year with Frederick II.[674] If true, this lengthy stay, along with his presence at the Diet, shows his gratitude for the emperor's help and hope for further aid. Other than the truce with Vatatzes, however, no benefit seems to have accrued for the Latin Empire. At the Diet, Baudouin II held a position of some importance; he was the first attendee named in the list of Rolandus Patavini.[675]

Frederick II may have invited Baudouin II to the Diet in order to give him instructions for the church council in Lyon. There is little doubt that Baudouin II arrived in Lyon in the company of the imperial envoys and probably as one of them. In his accounting of the attendees, Matthew Paris placed Baudouin II first among the secular lords, with Raymond de Toulouse immediately following.[676] Their appearance together in Mathew Paris's list suggests that they were originally representing Frederick II and were charged with pleading his case, once again, with the pope and the attendees of the council. Although the author of the *Brevis Nota* did not mention the Latin emperor in this context, he described Thaddeus of Suessa, Frederick II's mouthpiece at the council, as "one of the envoys of Frederick II"; at the beginning of the council, Baudouin II was probably in this company.[677]

At the Council of Lyon, however, Innocent IV managed to divide Baudouin II from his fellow envoys and return him firmly to the papal camp. Accounts of the

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[673] Rolandini Patavini, "Chronica," in *MGH SS*, ed. Philippus Jaffé (Hanover, 1866), p. 82.
[674] Richard of San Germano, "Fragmenta Memorialis Potestatum Mutinae," in *RISS*, ed. L. A. Muratori (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1937), p. 189.
[675] Patavini, "Chronica," p. 82, ll 7-9: "eonvenerunt ad ipsum isti principes et barones: videlicet imperator Constantinopolitanus, dux qui dicitur Austrie Stirieque, dux Carinthie, dux Moravii."
[676] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 434.
[677] *MGH Const.*, II: 515**:** "Iudex Thadeus unus de nuntiis imperatoris surrexit."

council agree that Innocent IV honored Baudouin II above all secular rulers and the patriarch of Constantinople above all prelates. The author of *Brevis Nota,* when describing the opening of the council, placed the emperor of Constantinople to the right of the pope, while other lay princes sat to the left.[678] Similarly, the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas of Placenza, had precedence over his colleagues.[679] According to Matthew Paris, the council opened with the testimony of the patriarch.[680] As befitted his surroundings, the patriarch began with the state of his church, bemoaning the drastic reduction in the number of bishops in his jurisdiction. But he explained the ecclesiastical problems as resulting from the military situation: "Greeks and others, enemies of the Roman church, had violently occupied almost all the empire of Romania, up to the gates of Constantinople." He went on to descibe the actions of these enemies: "[S]ince they are not at all obedient to the Roman church and detest it, they oppose it in a hostile manner." The formulation leaves no doubt as to the relationship between the Roman church (ecclesia Romana) and the Latin Empire (imperium Romaniae); it was the enemies of the first who had almost destroyed the second. Concerned, perhaps, that the participants at the council would question the

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[678] "Brevis Nota," in *MGH Const.* (Hanover, 1893), p. 513**:** "imperator vero Constantinopolitanus sedit ad dexteram et quidam alii principes laici sederunt ad sinistram."
[679] Ibid.: "ex opposito tres patriarche ordinati fuerunt, videlicet Constantinopolitanus ad dexteram, Antiochenus, Aquilegensis tertio." The inclusion of Aquileia created some controversy. Canale also noted the patriarch's presence. Canale, "Cronicon," p. 402: "A celui concil estoit Monseignor l'Apostoile, et li Patriarche de Costantinople, et arcevesques et evesques, et grant partie des perlas de Saint Yglise; mesages dou Roi de France et dou Roi d'Engleterre, et de maintes teres en estoient mesages."
[680] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 431-32: "Proposuitque patriarcha Constantinopolitanus statum et necessitates ecclesiae suae; asserens quod olim habuit sub se suffraganeos plus quam triginta, quorum vix jam tres remanserunt; subjungens insuper, quod Graeci et quidam alii totum jam imperium Romaniae fere usque ad portas civitatis Constantinopolis inimici ecclesiae Romanae violenter occuparunt; qui in nullo Romanae ecclesiae obedientes, ipsamque detestantes, hostiliter eidem adversantur. Unde dolor et confusio omnium Christianorum imminet, cum ipsa sua ecclesia primo fuisset privilegiata, et merito plus caeteris honoranda; primo enim constat, beatum Petrum Antiochiae, quae civitas Graecorum imperio vel regno subjecta est, ab antiquo sedisse; et inde Simonem Magum et alios haereticos confusos aufugasse."

importance of a church and empire on the outreaches of Christendom, the patriarch ended with a reminder of the premier status of Constantinople in the church and the see's illustrious history.

Innocent IV did not leave the advocacy of the Latin Empire to its principals. The pope framed the Council with five great sorrows, one of which was the schism with the Greek church and the state of the Latin Empire.[681] The *Brevis Nota* does not contain reference to the patriarch's speech. Here, however, Innocent IV's description of his sorrows contains a similar portrayal of the state of the Latin Empire—endangered by the schismatic Greeks who "occupied and destroyed the land almost up to Constantinople."[682] This matches the patriarch's statement in Matthew Paris that the Greeks came "to the gates of the city of Constantinople."[683] Matthew Paris recounted a more evocative image: The Greek church was a child turning away, insolently, from its mother, as though she were its stepmother.[684] The author of the *Brevis Nota* lacked either the imagination or the fidelity to the record, but he referred to the schismatic

[681] Matthew Paris and the anonymous author of the *Brevis Nota* agreed on the first four sorrows—the devastation caused by the Mongols, the state of the Holy Land, and the perfidious behavior of Frederick II—- but differed on the last: The former mentioned the new heresies, while the latter referred to the poor behavior of the clergy. Ibid., IV: 434-35 and "Brevis nota," pp 513-14. W. E. Lunt, arguing for the reliability of the *Brevis* Nota, commented that, "the canons enacted by the council deal largely with the discipline of the clergy and not at all with heresy." W. E. Lunt, "The First Council of Lyons, 1245," *The English Historical Review* 33, no. 129 (January 1918): 77. Canale mentioned the same four concerns. Canale, "Cronicon," p. 404, ch CXVI: "Maintes paroles i furent dites ileuc, et de secore la Sainte Tere dela la mer, et de secore l'empire de Costantinople, et de aler chascnu en contre les Tatars, por ce que il manivent la char humaine. Et apres I fu dit de sor Monseignor Fedric li Empereor tantes paroles et d'un et d'autre."

[682] "Brevis nota," p. 514**:** "occupaverant et destruxerant terram fere usque ad Constantinopolim."

[683] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 432: "ad portas civitatis Constantinopolis."

[684] Ibid., IV: 435: "Alium, quem pro schismate Romaniae, id est, Graecae ecclesiae, quae nostris temporibus et paucis evolutis annis a gremio matris suae, velut novercae, insolenter et insolerter decisa est et aversa." Innocent IV used a similar image a year and a half later when he wrote to the queen of Hungary, asking her to send envoys to Nicaea "ut ad sinum matris ecclesie redeat Vatacius et gens eius." Theiner, *VMH*, II: 203, no. 377.

status of the Greeks twice in one sentence.[685] The message is certain in both reports: The danger to Constantinople was directly tied to the schism between the Greek and Latin chuches.

The council's constitution providing for assistance to the Latin Empire invoked the theme voiced by the patriarch: Constantinople's place within the universal church.[686] The levies to aid the Latin Empire were "because the body of the church would be shamefully deformed by the lack of a loved member, namely the aforesaid empire, and be sadly weakened and suffer loss."[687] This conflation between the political and the religious entities is characteristic not merely of the Council of Lyon but more generally of Innocent IV's dealings with the Latin Empire and its neighbors and rivals. A few years later, this argument would endanger the Latin Empire when Innocent IV's desire for church union with Nicaea led him to back away from support for the Latin Empire. For the time being, however, it justified provisions of aid for the Latin Empire. The consideration raised by previous popes—that the security of the Latin Empire was important to the success of the Christian states in the Holy Land—came and, in a sentence, it went: "[A]nd especially because while the empire is helped, assistance is consequently rendered to the Holy Land."[688]

685 "Brevis nota," p. 514**:** "Tertio de scismate Grecorum, quomodo Vatacius imperator Grecorum cum Grevis scismaticis occupaverant et destruxerant terram fere usque ad Constantinopolim et de civitate timeri poterit, nisi a Christianis velocem succursum haberent."
686 For the transmission of the constitutions of the council see Norman P Tanner, trans., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), pp 273-77. This constitution, along with the one about the Mongols and several others, survives only in the papal registry and not in the other versions.
687 Translation and text from Ibid., p. 295.: "Quia tamen ecclesiae corpus ex membri causa cari, videlicet imperii praefati carentia notam probrosae deformitatis incurret et sustineret debilitatis dolendae iacturam."
688 Translation and text from Ibid.: "Maxime quia dum praedicto subventur imperio, consequenter subsidium impenditur Terrae sanctae."

The patriarch's and the pope's focus on the body of the church and the status of Constantinople in it reflected the surroundings of a church council, but also the dire situation of the Latin Empire and the lack of alternative, reasonable arguments for supporting its continued existence. Under different circumstances, the story of the Fourth Crusade and the importance of the Latin Empire for the health of the crusader states in the Holy Land might have and, in fact, did have weight. At the Council of Lyon, however, these justifications were not believable. The story of the Fourth Crusade was one of victory, but that victory had soon lost its luster in the early thirteenth century.[689] By 1245, it was a distant and not necessarily positive memory. The weaknesses of the Latin Empire were far more present. As a result, the argument that the Latin Empire could help the Holy Land was hard to swallow. The Latin Empire was in a "wretched state," lacking funds and men and threatened by multiple enemies. The relic-rich, glorious city that the Fourth Crusaders could barely believe they had captured was now defended primarily by its own walls. Neither of these exhortations was likely to provoke support in the West.

Although Innocent IV would later move away from active support of the Latin Empire, in 1245, perhaps fueled by competition with Frederick II, he provided for its aid. For three years, the Latin Empire would receive half the income of benefices whose holders were absent for more than six months, although certain exemptions were delineated for legitimate absences.[690] The pope himself offered one-tenth of his own income, after one-tenth went to support the crusade. In addition to these financial provisions, he renewed crusader privileges for those who went to aid the Latin Empire

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[689] Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp 115-16.
[690] The exceptions included those on the business of the papal curia, those on pilgrimage, those at school, those absent on the business of their church, and those on crusade.

and included it in his exhortation that clerics encourage their constituents to bequeath money for the crusading cause.[691] The Holy Land, however, took precedence with Innocent IV and other ecclesiastical and lay leaders and it was to the Holy Land that the crusade was directed.[692] In this respect, Innocent IV was no Gregory IX.

In his condemnation of Frederick II, Innocent IV enshrined the separation between Baudouin II and the other imperial envoys, noting that "our dear son in Christ, the illustrious emperor of Constantinople," was present the previous year when Frederick II's envoys, Raymond de Toulouse, Petrus de Vinea, and Thaddaeus of Suessa, committed the Western emperor to attendance at the council.[693] The Latin emperor might have arrived at Lyon with Raymond de Toulouse, but the Council ended with him in the papal retinue. And, indeed, in the accounts of the Council Baudouin II is not recorded as defending Frederick II. Instead, Thaddaeus of Suessa spoke for the Western emperor, responding to the accusations laid against him and arguing for his position.[694]

Baudouin II's very presence helped make Innocent IV's case against Frederick II. Here was an emperor who acted as a dutiful son of the church, providing a striking contrast to his Western counterpart. Baudouin II was useful to Innocent IV in other ways. In the bull of deposition, after detailing Frederick II's relationships with and affection for Muslims, Innocent IV used the marriage of Anna-Constance to Vatatzes as further proof of the Western emperor's perfidy, accusing him of "securing a bond by

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[691] Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, p. 296: "aliquid in Terrae sanctae vel imperii Romaniae subsidium pro suorum peccaminum remissione relinquant."
[692] The constitution on the crusade was significantly longer and more detailed than that calling for support of the Latin Empire. Ibid., pp 297-301.
[693] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 453: "praesentibus carissimo in Christo filio nostro Constantinopolitano imperatore illustri."
[694] "Brevis nota," pp 515-16.

friendship and marriage with those who, wickedly making light of the apostolic see, have separated from the unity of the church."[695] This accusation was disingenuous. A marriage between a Frank or Westerner and a Greek was neither innovative nor shocking. Baudouin II's own sister had married Vatatzes's father-in-law and his brother had been engaged to Vatatzes's sister-in-law. More significant, Anna-Constance's marriage benefited the Latin Empire. Matthew Paris directly attributed the one-year truce to the kin relationship between Vatatzes and Frederick II. Baudouin II's lengthy stay with Frederick II confirms that he thought the Western emperor was able and likely to come to the aid of the Latin Empire, either through direct financial or military support or diplomacy. In the papal bull, however, Innocent IV transformed the connection between his despised enemy Frederick II and the Nicaean Greeks from one that aided the Latin Empire into one that injured the church.

The Council of Lyon served the interests of both pope and Latin emperor. The former got a natural foil to Frederick II and a further accusation against him. The latter got financial aid and papal avowal that his cause was worthy of the crusading mantle. Constantinople's position was also affirmed in the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies. There is no way to know whether Baudouin II had already decided at the beginning of the Council to side with the papacy. It seems more likely that, once in Lyon, Baudouin II was flattered by the pope's attention and persuaded that the papacy was a more likely source of serious aid than was the Western emperor. After all, a year in Frederick II's

[695] Translation from *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, p. 282. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 453: "Aliorum quoque infidelium perniciosis et horrendis obsequiis contra fideles abutens, et illis, qui dampnabiliter vilipendentes Apostolicam sedem ab unitate ecclesiae discesserunt, procurans affinitate ac amicitia copulari … et Battacio, Dei et ecclesiae inimico, a communione fidelium per excommunicationis sententiam, cum adjuratoribus, consiliatoribus et fautoribus suis solempniter separato, filiam suam tradidt in uxorem."

camp had resulted in nothing more than a one-year truce. The presence of the patriarch of Constantinople and the push from the Capetian king for a crusade were also encouragement for him to join with the papacy. Regardless, present in Lyon, sitting at the pope's side, the recipient of promises of financial and recruiting aid, Baudouin II did not publically protest the condemnation against Frederick II. Wolff proclaimed that Baudouin II "could not be an ally of Frederick against the Pope: the Latin Empire had always drawn whatever strength it may have had in the west from papal backing."[696] Although the "always" and "whatever" of this statement dismiss significant Capetian aid, his point is well taken. The rapprochement between the two emperors was a welcome development for the Latin Empire, but a one-year truce could not compare with the two armies that Gregory IX had helped Baudouin II gather in the late 1230s and the Latin emperor could not afford to abandon the papacy permanently for its archrival.

In the first year and a half of his stay in the West, Baudouin II acted as the emperor of Constantinople. In the papal and Western imperial courts and especially at the Council of Lyon, Baudouin II was feted and valued for his imperial stature. He had not abandoned, however, his role as a Western noble. In the summer of 1245, Baudouin II attested to the relationship between Raymond de Toulouse, his previous partner as Frederick II's envoy, and Raymond's wife Marguerite de la Marche.[697] In his testimony, Baudouin II acted as any Western noble might have, swearing as to his grandfather's relationship to the king of France and the lineage of the relevant

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[696] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 622.
[697] Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 575, no. 3367.

parties.[698] Other witnesses also attested to the relationship. Baudouin II's imperial title was mentioned but was not at issue. The testimony acknowledged that, despite his upbringing and residence in the East, Baudouin II's parentage placed him within the Western system and authorized him to speak to matters of ancestry.

After the Council of Lyon, Baudouin II's name disappears once again from the record. He most likely spent much of the next nine months with the pope, repairing relations and discussing avenues of papal support. Mathew Paris reported provisions established by the pope, in 1245–1246, to collect financial support for the Latin Empire, and Baudouin II was most likely present for the discussions.[699] During this period, the pope also facilitated an agreement between Baudouin II and representatives of the Order of Santiago. The agreement, which was drafted in Lyon in the winter of 1245–1246, provided for the Order to send troops to Constantinople for two years in return for forty thousand marks sterling, control over two towns, and a portion of all conquests.[700] In May, Alfonso X, then heir to Castile, authorized the Order of Santiago to go to the aid

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[698] Ibid.: "Dominus [Balduinus] imperator Constantinopolitanus illustris, remisso a partibus juramento, dicit quod audivit et firmiter credit ita esse quod regina Constantia, et dominus Lodovicus rex Francie, et dominus Petrus de Cortaniaco fuerunt fratres carnales. – Dominus (Petrus) de Cortaniaco genuit dominam Adalmues comitissam Engloisme; domina Adalmues genuit dominam Ysabellem uxorem comities Marchie; domina Ysabellis genuit Margaretam de qua agitur. – Ex alio latere, dicit quod regina Constantia genuit dominum Raymundum comitem Tholosanum patrem istius comitis, et ille dominus Raymundus genuit istum dominum Raymundum comitem Tholose de quo agitur. – Interrogatus si vidit aliquas de istis personis se habere pro consanuineis? Dicit quod personas supradictas non vidit, tamen ipse habet eos pro consanguineis, tam comitem Tholose quam Margaretam predictam, et credit quod sic sit, et fama sic se habet."

[699] Paris, *Chronica Majora*, IV: 564-66.

[700] In February 1246, Innocent IV wrote to the master of the Order of Santiago, urging him to accept the agreement, which had been concluded by his representatives. This series of documents is collected in Eloy Benito Ruano, "Balduino II de Constantinopola y la Orden de Santiago. Un proyecto de defensa del Imperio latino de Oriente," *Hispania* 12, no. 46 (March 1952): 29-36.

of the Latin Empire with troops from the kingdom. In August, Baudouin II was at Valladolid to enter into an agreement with Pelagius, the master of the Order.[701]

In Castile, Baudouin II extended his appeal to Marie's relatives, possibly drawing on his close relationship with Blanche of Castile. Alfonso X was Marie's cousin and Blanche's great-nephew, and he explained his approval of the agreement as a response "ad preces Sanctissimi Patris Domini Pape et karissimi affinis nostri Balduini Imperatoris Constantinopolitani."[702] The Courtenay family was tied to Castile in another way. Alfonso X was married to Yolande of Aragon, the daughter of the king of Aragon and Yolande of Hungary, granddaughter of Andrew of Hungary and Yolande de Courtenay, and great-granddaughter of Pierre de Courtenay and Yolande. The king of Castile, thus, was married to the great-niece of the emperor of Constantinople, as well as being, himself, the cousin of the empress.

It is hard to know to what extent the kin relationship influenced the parties' ability to reach an agreement. The Order's commitment was significant: three hundred knights, two hundred *balistrarios*, and one thousand foot soldiers, all at the service of the Latin Empire. No wonder Baudouin II traveled personally to Castile in order to finalize the agreement. Of course, the Order was well compensated for its efforts, receiving the towns of Visoi and Medes, forty thousand marks sterling, and a portion of all land conquered during the mission in Constantinople. It was not a charitable donation and, indeed, it seems that when Baudouin II was unable to pay up, the

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[701] Some have called into question Baudouin II's presence in Castile. Ruano argued, however, that the documents themselves unambigiously indicate Baudouin II's personal presence. Ibid., pp 21-26.
[702] Ibid., p. 30, no. 2.

agreement fell apart.[703] In promising to provide forty thousand marks sterling, Baudouin II must have been counting on a fund-raising success similar to that of his previous visit—a combination of the redemption of crusader vows, grants from his Capetian relatives, and funds from his own lands in Namur. Unfortunately, Louis IX's crusade tied up the majority of the crusading funds and the Capetians' own resources.

Baudouin II and his Western Resources

Baudouin II was in Namur by October 1246 and was still, or again, in his territory nine months later. Although the records are less extensive than are those from his prior visit, they reveal similar actions—provisions for governance, donations, and confirmations. He was more interested in strengthening and exploiting old relationships than in creating new ones. His giving was far more circumspect than it had been nine years before, and the three institutions mentioned in his charters all had prior relationships with him. In his earlier visit, Baudouin II used donations, confirmations, and sales to establish his authority by creating connections with his brothers through the institutions they supported and to gain support for the Latin Empire. His second visit did not display any new strategies, but it conspiciously lacked the energy of the first.

Baudouin II's first recorded act was to confer on Thierri de Fossez and his heirs the office of *portier*.[704] Here and elsewhere, he spoke of himself only as the emperor of Constantinople, ignoring the title marquis of Namur, which expressed his right to grant the office in the first place. He had already abandoned his Western title in his correspondence with the Capetians after his return to Constantinople and his coronation.

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[703] Innocent IV informed the master of the Order in February 1247 that Baudouin II did not have the money but hoped to be able to pay it by August. Ibid., p. 36, no. 6. Ruano noted that the activities of the order in the fall of 1247 all but precluded the possibility of their particpation in the Latin Empire. Ibid., pp 27-28.

[704] Wauters, *Table chronologique*, IV: 481; Galliot, *Histoire générale*, VI: 2.

There he was "Balduinus eadem gratiâ fidelissimus in Christo Imperator à Deo coronatus, Romaniae moderator, et semper Augustus."[705] In his testimony in the case of Raymond de Toulouse and his wife, he was, more succinctly, "dominus imperator Constantinopolitanus illustris," still not the marquis or count of Namur.[706] Back in Namur, however, acting in his capacity as ruler of the county, he might be expected to employ that title again. He had used it liberally in his first visit, when he was "haeres Imperii romani et comes Namurcensis," "marchio" and even "dominus Curtiniaci."[707] Yet, even his return to Namur did not prompt him to use his Western titles, at least not in official documents. Baudouin II's move from "haeres" to "imperator" led him to shed his Western titles.

The document concerning the office of *portier*, from October 1246, is a lone witness to Baudouin II's activities between August 1246 and June 1247, when the record yields a series of documents, made as he prepared to return to the West. A charter confirmed the rights and liberties given to the inhabitants of Fleurus by his brother Henri.[708] He also made two donations, to the abbeys of Argenton and Moulins, and approved a donation to Val Saint George. All three institutions had been recipients of his generosity in 1237–1238. Both his donations to Argenton, dated respectively from April 1239 and June 1247, consisted of woods of Beaufaux, although the amounts were different.[709] His second one may have been a confirmation of part of his original donation or a gift of adjacent territory. The donation to Moulins, of fifty eels, seems

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[705] This specific phrase was from his letter to Louis IX concerning the transfer of Courtenay, but his other three letters employed similar formulae. Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V: 423-24.
[706] Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 575, no. 3367.
[707] See, for example, Brouwers, *L'administration*, IV: 59-60, 63-64, nos. 97, 101.
[708] Hendrickx dated this document between spring and December 1247, but they were made in Namur, which Baudouin left in June 1247. Ibid., IV: 76, no. 125, summary.
[709] Ibid., IV: 68, 74, nos. 108, 121.

unrelated to his previous transactions with the abbey, namely the donation of the chapel of Marlagne and sale of the forest of Rovroit.[710] Finally, he recorded two charters concerning Val Saint George, both about Mehaigne, north of Namur. In these, he approved the reassignment of the tenth of that church from the monastery to Jean de Valenciennes and a donation from two of his vassals.[711]

Jean de Valenciennes is already known as one of Baudouin II's creditors from the latter's letter to Blanche of Castile. In July, after the transaction concerning Mehaigne, the emperor noted that he still owed Jean three thousand, four hundred and thirty three livres**,** possibly from the same loan. Baudouin II also arranged for a second loan, of three hundred and twenty livres tournois, from Flamenus de Ambliniaco. In order to repay the debt, he assigned Flamenus revenues from Courtenay and Valenciennes.[712] Once again, his Western lands were employed to gather money for his Eastern empire.

Baudouin II's actions in Namur show that he had regained authority over Namur from Louis IX, to whom he had mortgaged it five years earlier. The great poverty of the Latin Empire makes it extremely unlikely that Capetian king received any financial remuneration from Baudouin II. Instead, the return of the county was a form of indirect support from the French king who was, of course, preparing for his own crusade in the mid- to late-1240s. In this sense, the timing of Baudouin II's second visit was unfortunate. Consumed by his efforts at fiscal and judicial reform and his plans for the crusade, Louis IX had little inclination to fund Baudouin II.

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[710] Peeters, *Analectes*, V: 376-77, 382.
[711] Wauters, *Table chronologique*, IV: 500, 502; Société archéologique de Namur, *Annales de la société archéologique de Namur* (Namur: La Société, 1849), II: 197-98; Brouwers, *L'administration*, IV: 74, no. 122, summ.
[712] Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 12, no. 3605.

In June of 1247, as he prepared to return to Constantinople, Baudouin II placed Namur under the control of Louis IX and called upon his men to obey any officials appointed by Louis IX, his mother, or his brothers, specifically Robert d'Artois, Alphonse de Poitiers, and Charles d'Anjou, and to defend the county against attack.[713] Here, Baudouin II once again, and more completely this time, conveyed his land to Louis IX. He did not, however, alienate it from his family. In the same document, Baudouin II made provisions for the succession of Namur. He set the order of inheritance among his sisters, if he died without heirs: first Marguerite de Vianden, then Élisabeth de Montagu, and finally Agnès of Achaia.[714] These were his three surviving full siblings, excepting perhaps two sisters who had entered the church. His halfsister, Mathilde, had no claim on Namur, which was an inheritance from Baudouin II's mother. By specifying his sisters' rights to the county in the same document in which he entrusted it to Louis IX, Baudouin II made sure that those who read of his abandonment of Namur to the king did not think this was a permanent alienation from the Courtenay family. Marguerite's challenge to Baudouin II's rule in the 1230s had demonstrated the difficulty of governing Western lands from the East. It also suggested that she at least would not easily relinquish her claims on Namur. By arranging for the eventual inheritance of his own siblings, Baudouin II forestalled complaints that he had alienated land in which they had an interest.

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[713] Ibid., III: 11-12, no. 3604.

[714] The challenge that Marguérite and her husband Henri had asserted to Baudouin II's control of Namur in the 1230s did not affect his rating of her inheritance rights. Published Ibid. AN, J 509: "et se de nos et de noz anfanz deffalloit sanz oir de lor cors, il randeroient le chastel à nostre seror ainznée Marguerite contesse de Viane, s'ele estoit vive, après le decès de nos et de nos anfanz, il randeroient le chastel à nostre soror Isabiae, dame de Montagu; et se il deffaloit de nos II serours devantdites, ainz que de nos et de nos anfanz, après le decès de nos et de nos anfanz, il randeroient le chastel à nostre autre soror Agnès, princess de Acaye."

The drive to preserve Namur for Baudouin II's heirs may also have come from the Capetians. According to the *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, a source of questionable reliability, the Queen Mother balked at Baudouin II's irresponsible plan to sell Namur and lent him twenty thousand livres to prevent this.[715] No document survives recording this transaction, nor does Baudouin II's consignment of the territory to Louis IX mention a payment. The echoes of Louis IX's refusal to allow Baudouin II to alienate Courtenay to Geoffroy II de Villehardouin in the early 1240s, however, suggest that the story may have the flavor of truth even if the details are fictional. The Capetians cared more about preserving his Western territory as a Courtenay inheritance than Baudouin II did. It would be entirely plausible for Blanche to intervene to prevent a sale, especially if her intervention meant that her son could gain control of Namur.

Besides land, Baudouin II's greatest assets were the relics of Constantinople. During his prior visit, a complex series of transactions had left the Crown of Thorns in Louis IX's possession and enriched Baudouin II in the amount of ten thousand livres. After leaving Namur, Baudouin II proceeded to Saint Germain, where, in June 1247, he ceded, once again, the Crown of Thorns, along with other relics, to Louis IX.[716] The additional items included relics from the Passion, from Jesus's infancy, and from other saints including the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist.[717] In his charter, Baudouin II

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[715] The author imagined a dialogue between the two: ‘‘Dame, dist li empereres, il me couvient deniers; que je ne puis mie tenir l'empire sans grant coustage. Si me couvient vendre le contei de Namur qui me vient naissant de mon heritage. -- En non Dieu, dist la roïne, ce ne vuel je pas que vous la vendez. – Dame, que ferai-je dont? – Par foi, dit la roïne, je vous presterai vint mil livres à rendre aus issues, et ainsi sera sauvée à vous et à voz oirs; en teil maniere que vous me jurerez sour sainz que dedenz le mois que vous serez revenuz en Coustantinoble, vous m'envoierez l'empereriz; car je la desir mout à veoir.” *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, pp 225-26, ch 439.

[716] Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 133-35, no. LXXIX.

[717] Baudouin II named the relics “predictas sacrosanctam Spineam Coronam Domini et Crucem sanctam; item de Sanuine Domini nostri Iesu Christi; pannos infantie Salvatoris quibus fuit in cunabulis involutus; aliam magnam partem de Ligno Sancte Crucis; de Sanguine qui de quadam imagine Domini ab infideli

recounted the original transaction: the use of the relics as collateral for debts made necessary by the "pressing poverty of the empire of Constantinople" and Louis IX's redemption of them.[718] Unlike the grant of Namur, which bestowed control of the county to Louis IX but explicitly preserved it for Baudouin II's heirs, the transfer of the relics was complete, and the language expressing it definitive: "as a spontaneous and free gift we gave it fully, conceded it absolutely, and in total we relinquished and relinquish it."[719]

There is no evidence that Louis IX offered to restore the Crown of Thorns to Baudouin II upon his return to the West, and, given the king's affection and affinity for the relics and his construction of a building to house them, such an offer is improbable. Louis IX might have sought confirmation of the original grant, closer in time to the consecration of Sainte-Chapelle as their resting place, or Baudouin II may have included it to inflate the importance of this second gift. The ability to bestow the Crown of Thorns both signaled Baudouin II's power and emphasized the religious nature of his empire. These symbols of piety were particularly appropriate for this moment when Louis IX was preparing his own crusade to the Holy Land. The renewal of this gift, like the transfer of Namur, demonstrates the scarcity of Baudouin II's resources. Baudouin II could regrant Namur, which Louis IX had generously returned

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percussa stupendo miraculo distilavit; Cathenam etiam, sive vinculum ferreum, quasi in modum anulli factum, quo creditur idem Dominus noster fuisse ligatus; Sanctam Toellam tabule infertam; magnam partem de lapide Sepulcri Domini nostri Iesu Christi; de lacte beate Marie virginis; item ferrum Sacre Lancee quo perforatum fuit in cruce latus Domini nostri Iesu Christi; crucem aliam mediocrem, quam Crucem triumphalem veteres appellabant, quia ipsam in spem victorie consueverant imperatores ad bella deferre; Clamidem coccineam quam circumdederunt milites Domino nostro Iesu Christo in illusionem ipsius; Spongiam quam porrexerunt ei sitienti in cruce, aceto plenam; partem Sudarii quo involutum fuit corpus eius in sepulchro; Lintheum etiam quo precinxit se quando lavit manus discipulotum, et quo eorum pedes extersit; Virgam Moysi; superiorem partem capitis beati Iohannis Baptiste; et capita Sanctorum Blasii, Clementis et Simeonis." Ibid.

[718] Ibid., II: 134, no. LXXIX: "pro urgenti necessitate imperii Constantinopolitani."

[719] Ibid., II: 133-35, no. LXXIX: "spontaneo et gratuito dono plene dedimus, absolute concessimus, et ex toto quictavimus et quictamus."

to him, and he could add a few additional relics to his prior gift, but he had no new resources to trade for significant aid.

In the document concerning control of Namur, addressed to anyone reading the letters, but specifically geared "au chastelain dou chastiae de Namur, au doian, au chanoines at à touz les sergenz dou chastel," Baudouin II did not make reference to the kinship between himself and the French monarchy, which so marked his other correspondence. Instead, he referred to the Capetians merely by their title, and their relationship to the king: "dou roi de France Louis, qui or est, et par la roine Blanche, sa mère, et par les contes, c'est à savoir: Robert de Artois, Anfons de Poitiers, Challe d'Angeou, freires au devantdit roi." [720] This plain language could be read as a sign of Baudouin II's frustration that Louis IX had not given him more or as a reflection of the straightforward purpose of the document—not persuading, merely reporting and ordering. Baudouin II's second grant to Louis IX suggests the latter. The chrysobull transferring the relics referred to Louis IX as "nos carissimo amico et consanguineo nostro Ludovico, regi Francie illustrissimo."[721] The double appellation, of friend and relative, contrasts with the plain description of Louis IX as "roi de France" from the other document and signals that Baudouin II still thought it worthwhile to remind his cousin of their kin relationship and their personal connection.

The language here, however, serves as a reminder that little is known from this visit about Baudouin II's relationship with either Blanche or Louis IX. Baudouin II's grants, of Namur and relics, to Louis IX suggests that he at least continued to value their relationship. In the *Récits,* Blanche was displeased with Baudouin II's childish

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[720] AN, J 509. Published in Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 11-12, no. 3604.
[721] Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 133-35, no. LXXIX.

behavior, but she still lent him the funds to prevent the sale of Namur.[722] The loan was dependent on Baudouin II's promise to send Marie to visit Blanche, who "desired greatly to see her."[723] In the eyes of this author, then, Blanche maintained her close relationship with Baudouin II, in part because of her kinship with and affection for Marie, but this relationship was a vastly unequal one. Baudouin II was a childish spendthrift, unable to manage his own affairs, and he was easily guided by Blanche. The details in the *Récits* cannot be accepted without confirmation. Yet, they show that contemporaries perceived a continued closeness between Blanche and Baudouin II, one that survived the latter's constant need for financial aid and advice. The story in the *Récits* also reminds us that Baudouin II must have spent at least some time with the Capetians. At some point, he arranged with Louis IX to regain control over Namur. He returned to France before leaving for the East and was in Saint-Germain-en-Laye in June of 1247 when he granted the collection of relics to Louis IX.

This visit, Baudouin II's second to the West, was markedly less successful than his first one. Then, he had, through the sale of relics, the mortgaging of land, and the redemption of crusading vows, gathered funds for two armies, one of which made it to Constantinople under his own direction. These men, however, were not committed to the Latin Empire, and they returned home, according to the *Récits*, because Baudouin II was unable to pay them.[724] On this second visit, Baudouin II had gotten a one-year truce with Vatatzes (which expired before the Latin emperor returned to

[722] *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, pp 225-26, ch 439-40.
[723] Ibid., p. 226, ch 439: "car je la desire mout à veoir."
[724] Ibid., p. 224, ch 437: "Et li empereres Baudouins estoit juenes et enfantis; si despendi largement, et ne prist pas garde à son affaire; si fu povres et endeteiz, et n'ot que donneir aus chevaliers et aus serjanz. Si s'en partirent de lui une granz partie, et s'en ralerent en leur païs. Et quant li empereres vit qu'ainsi estoit, si ot conseil qu'il venroit en France à l'apostoile qui estoit à Lion, et à la roïne qui estoit ante sa famme, et requerroit ajue à l'apostoile et à la roïne."

Constantinople), the temporary return of his lands, and a promise of aid from the Order of Santiago, which was never realized. Part of the problem, of course, was timing. At the Council of Lyon, where Baudouin II and the patriarch of Constantinople were well-placed to make a pitch for aid, the assembled company was more concerned with the Hohenstaufen emperors and the Holy Land. These great issues, which came to a head in the mid-1240s in the form of the deposition of Frederick II and Louis IX's crusade to the Holy Land, consumed Europe and left little energy or resources to devote to the Latin Empire. Baudouin II responded to this situation by entering into the tangle of European alliances and negotiations. Lacking the background to understand the problems, however, he fumbled between Frederick II and Innocent IV, as he would later between Manfred, Alfonso X, and the papacy. We cannot know, of course, what would have happened had Baudouin II not abandoned the papal curia for Frederick II in 1244–1245. But it seems that, for Innocent IV, Baudouin II was more of a pawn in his propaganda war against Frederick II than anything else. Wolff argued that "Baldwin's relations with the pope seem not to have suffered as a result" of his temporary alliance with Frederick II.[725] Yet the mid-1240s marked a new stage in the papacy's attitude toward the Latin Empire, one marked by a much lower level of commitment and a willingness to abandon the Latin Empire if it would result in church union. No source gives a specific reason behind this change, but it is certainly plausible that the Latin emperor's temporary alliance with Frederick II cooled the ardor of the papacy to support his cause. Baudouin II's initial foray into European politics marked a new pattern in his engagements in the West and reflected his belief, repeatedly demonstrated

[725] Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," p. 622

and repeatedly disproved, that he could intervene in Western affairs without harming his cause.

Baudouin II in Constantinople

The timing of Baudouin II's return, in the summer of 1247, might have been in response to the rising danger posed by Nicaea.[726] In 1246, Kaliman, the Bulgarian tsar and Asen's son, died and Vatatzes, having achieved peace with Epiros and the sultan, turned his attention to recovering territory held by Bulgaria.[727] The campaign was executed with little violence, and many of the cities went over to the emperor peacefully. According to Akropolites, the marriage of Theodore II, Vatatzes's son, and the Bulgarian princess Helen influenced the inhabitants of at least one town, Melnik, to open the gates to the Nicaean army. This marriage did what the proposed marriages between Robert and Eudokia and Baudouin II and Helen could have done: It united two political claims, in this case to the area to the north of Constantinople. This development did not pass unnoticed, either in the court of Vatatzes or, apparently, in the communities of Thrace and Macedonia. According to Akropolites, a prominent citizen, Nicholas Manglavites, persuaded the inhabitants to welcome Vatatzes. Nicholas employed a series of arguments.[728] He opened with a brief exposition of the misfortune

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[726] Gardner, *Lascarids of Nicaea*, p. 157.
[727] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 72-79, ch 43 and 44. Trans. in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 225-35, ch 43 and 44.
[728] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 76-77, ch 44: "ἡμῖν μὲν ἐγένετο προσταλαιπωρῆσαι τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Καλιμάνου ἀρχῇ, καὶ ἦν πρὸς ἐλπίδος ἀνδρωθῆναί τε τοῦτον καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀντιλαβεῖν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἐλθόντος, ὅτε διακρῖναι δύναιτ'ἄν τις ἀπὸ φαύλου ἄνδρα καλόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτου κακούργῳ τύχῃ ἡμάρτομεν, πρόκειται δὲ ἡμῖν Βρεφύλλιον ἀρχήν, παντὸς ἄν ἀνοηταίνοντος χείρους φανείημεν, εἰ πάλιν πρὸς δυσπραγίας ἄλλας αὐτοὺς ἐπιδοίημεν, ἀδέσποτοι τὸν πάντα βίον διατελεῖν αἱρούμενοι, ὑφ' οὗ πολλά τε καὶ μείζω τὰ δεινὰ φύεται. ἀλλ'ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσήγγισε, δεῖ αὐτῷ ἑαυτοὺς ἐγχειρίσασθαι, δεσπόρῃ ριστῷ καὶ εἰδότι ἄνδρα ἠδὲ κακὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσθλόν, καὶ δίκαιον ἐν ἡμῖν ἔκπαλαι σχόντι. ὅ τε γὰρ ἡμέτερος χῶρος τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων προσήκει ἀρχῇ -- πλεονεκτικώτερον γὰρ οἱ Βούλγαροι ποῖς πράγμασι χρησάμενοι καὶ ἐκ Φιλιππουπόλεως ὁρμώμεθα, καθαροὶ τὸ γένος Ῥωμαῖοι. ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς

of people ruled by a child, referring to the Bulgarian tsar, and then noted that Vatatzes, whom he called the emperor of the Romans, was in the area. Vatatzes was "a trustworthy master and one who knows a bad man from a good one." Moreover, he "has a long-standing right with regard to us" since Melnik was rightfully Roman, i.e. Greek, and had been captured by the Bulgarians. The ethnicity of the people of the town was also relevant to Vatatzes's claim—they were all "pure Romans by birth." Finally, "the emperor of the Romans truly has a right with respect to us, even if we are related to Bulgarians, for his son, the emperor Theodore, became the son-in-law of the emperor of the Bulgarians, Asan, and now the daughter of the emperor Asan, the wife of this emperor, is called, and is in deed, empress of the Romans." Both the Greek and the Bulgarian claims were thus recognized and united in the marriage of Theodore and Helen. These claims could be fulfilled, or at least their fulfillment proclaimed, through submission to Nicaea. The rising and declining fortunes of the various regional actors over the previous four decades—the fall of Byzantium; the establishment of the Latin Empire; the growth, fall, reemergence, and fall again of Bulgaria; Epiros's mutating alliances and affinities; the changing focus of Nicaea—had hit the area north and west of Constantinople particularly hard. Nicholas Manglavites represented a region that had seen multiple armies march and fight, changing political authority, and the assertions of varying loyalties and allegiances. Akropolites recounted the citizen's words at some length and in direct speech, an emphasis that suggests that they reflected the arguments

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ἀληθῶς καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν δικαιοῦται, καὶ εἰ Βουλγάροις προσήκοιμεν. ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τούτου καὶ βασιλεὺς Θεόδωρος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Βουλγάρων τῷ Ἀσὰν κεκήδευτο, καὶ νῦν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ Ἀσὰν θυγάτηρ ἡ σύζυγος τοῦ τοιούτου Βασιλέως δέσποινα Ῥωμαίων ὀνομάζεταί τε καὶ ἐστί. Τούτων οὖν ἁπάντων χάριν τὰ πολλὰ τῶν λεγομένων καταλιπόντας ἐπ'αὐτῷ χρὴ ἰέναι καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας ὑποκλῖναι τῷ τῆς δουλείας ζυγῷ. Χρηστὸς γὰρ ὁ ζυγὸς τῶν φρονίμων βασιλέων καὶ γηραιῶν, καὶ πολλῷ κουφότερος τῶν ἔτι διατελούντων ἐν μείραξι." The following translations come from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 230-31, ch 44.

of Vatatzes and Nicaean propoganda. The Bulgarian-Nicaean marriage had originally secured an offensive alliance against the Latin Empire. A decade later, Vatatzes used it to proclaim his claims to territory held by Bulgarians.

Vatatzes's European campaign yielded another, even greater, prize: Thessaloniki. As at Melnik, this city was surrendered by its inhabitants. John Doukas, Theodore Doukas's eldest son, had been succeeded by his younger brother Demetrios in 1244. Demetrios's profligate and irresponsible behavior turned the inhabitants against him and encouraged them to appeal to Vatatzes.[729] Akropolites reported that Vatatzes was ready to return home for the winter when he received an embassy from Thessaloniki. Conquering the great city was not on his agenda. Faced with the opportunity, however, to gain it with little cost to himself, he proceeded to Thessaloniki where conspirators within the city opened a gate and Nicaean troops entered easily. The year of 1246, then, saw Nicaea establishing its supremacy over both Bulgaria and the Doukai. In 1247, secure on a wave of successes, and "since he had a truce with everyone," Vatatzes recommenced his attack on Frankish possessions.[730]

The most well known and, for the purposes of this dissertation, interesting feature of Vatatzes's military campaign was his attack on Tzouroulos. In 1247, Anseau de Cayeux, a Frankish baron, governed this city, which had shifted between Greek and Latin rule several times since 1204. Anseau was almost certainly the descendant of a Fourth Crusader of the same name and was certainly married to Eudokia, Theodore

[729] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 136-42.
[730] Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 245, ch 47. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 85, ch 47: "ἐκεχειρίαν δὲ ἔχων ἐξ ἁπάντων." Macrides notes that Nicaea accomplished treaties with the Turks in 1243, and the Bulgarians and Doukai in 1246.

Lascaris's daughter, the emperor Robert's ex-fiancée and Vatatzes's sister-in-law.[731] The marriage resulted from the efforts in the 1220s, initiated by Yolande and Theodore Lascaris, to make peace between the Latin Empire and Nicaea. Eudokia and Robert had been engaged twice before Robert married a Frankish noblewoman, a marriage that proved to be the downfall of both husband and wife.[732] According to Akropolites, Eudokia's subsequent marriage to Anseau was with the consent and even desire of her sister Eirene and Vatatzes himself.[733] Their approval is something of a mystery. Theodore Laskaris arranged prestigious marriages for his daughters: Eudokia to the emperor Robert, Maria to the son of the king of Hungary and the last, Eirene, first to the despot Andronikos Palaiologos and then John III Vatatzes.[734] As a husband, Anseau, although a prestigious Frankish baron, represented a significant drop in status from the emperor of Constantinople, even a Frankish emperor. Moreover, although the treaty between the Franks and Nicaean Greeks might survive the change in husbands, Eudokia's new marriage did not fulfill the other goal of her engagement to Robert: the return of Greeks to power in Constantinople through their children. One can only guess as to why Eudokia and her sister and brother-in-law accepted her marriage to Anseau. Eudokia's personal inclinations might have played a part. She spent, it appears, several years in Constantinople and might have formed a relationship with Anseau. Events in Nicaea might have also played a part. Early in his reign, Vatatzes had to deal with challenges from Theodore Lascaris's brothers and Eudokia's return to Nicaea would

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[731] See Macrides on the generational problem of the Anseau de Cayeux's. Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 177-78, ftnt 20.
[732] See pp 119-23 above.
[733] Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 85, ch 47. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 245, ch 47.
[734] Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 26, ll 10-22, ch 15. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 148, ch 15.

have left her available to marry a potential rival to his rule. Of course, Akropolites' claim that Vatatzes approved might have been inaccurate, an attempt to portray an undesired event in a better light. In the end, one cannot know for sure.

Regardless of its original rationale, Anseau and Eudokia's mixed marriage made them ideal candidates to rule Tzouroulos, a city of strategic and symbolic import. As Agnès and Branas had in Thessaloniki, Anseau and Eudokia united Frankish power with Greek claims. Upon hearing that Vatatzes was marching to attack the city, Anseau fled the town, leaving Eudokia in charge of a garrison. Akropolites left no doubt as to the strategy behind this move: "For he thought that the emperor would not wish to besiege the town because of his sister-in-law."[735] But the couple misjudged the intensity of Vatatzes's family feelings. "The emperor, for the most part disregarding such considerations," laid siege to the town.[736] The siege was short, and the peace was a generous one. The Nicaean emperor gave Eudokia a horse and sent her back to Constantinople. He also freed the garrison. His concessions were limited; Akropolites was clear that Eudokia received "a single horse for her mount," making no reference to other gifts or provisions.[737] Her men were released, but without transport or supplies. Vatatzes may have treated Eudokia with particular generosity, but there is no suggestion that either of them wanted her to stay and return to Nicaea with the Greek army. Although the date of her marriage is uncertain, it was probably in the mid-1220s, soon

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[735] Translation from Ibid., p. 245, ch 47. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 85, ch 47: "ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτῷ, ὡς διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναικαδέλφην οὐκ ἂν βουληθείη ὁ βασιλεὺς πορθῆσαι τὸ ἄστυ."

[736] Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 245, ch 47. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 85, ch 47: "ἐκεῖνος δὲ τὰ πολλὰ παρορῶν τῶν τοιούτων."

[737] Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 245, ch 47. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 85, ch 47: "καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτοῦ γυναικαδέλφην εἰς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἐξαπέστειλεν, ἕνα ἵππον αὐτῇ δοὺς ἵν' ἐποχῆται."

after her second engagement to Robert collapsed. For two decades Eudokia had lived with and among the Franks. Her loyalties were with her husband and his people.

Vatatzes's success at Tzouroulos and, afterward, at Bizye frightened the Franks. Their anxiety is evident in a letter from April of 1247. The letter was from Philippe de Toucy, who held the role of *bailli*, as his father had, and Egidio Quirino, the podestà, and approved by an impressive array of individuals including the empress Marie, the barons, the council, the vicar of the chapter, the archbishop of Heracleia, the bishop of Selymbria, three abbots, and the *preceptores* of the Military Orders.[738] The letter, addressed to all readers, explained and excused the extended stay of Dominique d'Aragon, a Franciscan friar, in Constantinople. In the spring of 1245, before the Council of Lyon, Innocent IV had sent Dominique on a mission to the East "to people, who do not know the lord Jesus Christ, and to the sons of those who withdrew, who are not obedient to the holy Roman church."[739] Little else is known for sure about the mission itself, but in the spring of 1247 the friar stopped in Constantinople upon his return to the West.[740] According to the letter, Dominique's delay there was for the benefit of the Roman Church and the Latin Empire and necessary for his own safety. Vatatzes's siege of the city certainly made any departure dangerous. What contribution a lone Franciscan friar could make to the safety of the city is less clear. Vatatzes had a deep respect for the Franciscans and Philippe de Toucy and Egidio Quirino may have planned for Dominique to carry an appeal to the Niceaen emperor. Tisserant also

[738] The letter is published in E. Tisserant, "La légation en Orient du Franciscain Dominique d'Aragon (1245-1247)," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* XXIV (1924): 336-55. More than half the text is, in fact, occupied with listing the individuals approving its message.
[739] Sbaralea, *Bullarium Franciscanum*, p. 772: "ad gentes, quae Jesum Christum Dominum non agnoscunt et ad substractionis filios qui Sacrosancte Romane ecclesie non obediunt."
[740] Tisserant proposed an itinerary based on circumstantial evidence. Tisserant, "La légation en Orient," 350-51.

suggested that Dominique, as a representative of the papacy, might have been drafted to assist in the resolution of conflicts between the many exempt orders in Constantinople and the diocese.[741]

The letter plaintively reveals the dire straits facing Constantinople, a situation to which Baudouin II soon returned. The circumstances of Baudouin II's departure from the West, without a great deal of aid, provide credence that he knew of the stress his empire was under. His delay in Europe until this critical moment suggests that he held out for the expectation of more aid, which had, after all, eventually come during his previous visit. That it never came in this second one can be attributed both to the wider environment of Europe, especially the competing concerns of the Capetians and the papacy, and Baudouin II's own missteps in turning to the Hohenstaufen emperor.

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[741] Ibid., pp 346-47.

Chapter 7:

In a Strange Land, 1247–1261

Baudouin II returned to Constantinople in 1247 but this did not bring an end to the Franks' efforts to raise Western aid. His wife, Marie de Brienne, replaced him in Western courts and continued his fund-raising and attempts to control Namur. The distance between the Latin Empire and the papacy, which first became apparent in the mid-1240s, grew in the 1250s. Innocent IV and Alexander IV turned to negotiations with Nicaea as the most promising way to restore unity to the church and as a further arena in their conflict with the Hohenstaufen. Papal support for the Latin Empire, once reliable if not always effective, began to disappear. Instead of exorting the Greeks to abandon their attacks on the Latin Empire, the papacy offered, subtlely of course, the promise of a return of Greek power to Constantinople in return for church union. The papacy was not the only Western actor that pulled away from the Latin Empire. Marie de Brienne struggled to establish control over Namur for five years before abandoning the county to the countess of Flanders and, indeed, leaving France and Flanders altogether for the richer pastures of her mother's homeland, Castile. Her adjustment in tactics shows the Franks' continued and somewhat surprising ability to gain support, even as parts of their appeal, particularly the religious and crusading foundations, were no longer prominent.

The Papacy and Nicaea

As Vatatzes launched his attack on Tzouroulos and other Frankish possessions in 1246, he also opened diplomatic negotiations with the West. In January of 1247,

while Baudouin II was still in Europe, Innocent IV received word from the queen of Hungary, the daughter of Theodore Lascaris and the sister of Vatatzes's late wife Eirene, that Vatatzes wanted to reconcile with the Western church.[742] Vatatzes's appeal signaled that church union, the perennial goal of the papacy, might yet come through political reconciliation and not as a result of military conquest. Innocent IV's initial response was to urge the queen, Maria, to send messengers to Nicaea, men "provident and wise" who could bring Vatatzes back into the fold.[743] The pontiff did not send his own envoy for two years. No record remains of Hungarian envoys or their reception by Vatatzes. In 1247–1248, the Niceaen forces stopped their attack on Frankish possessions, which may have been in response to positive signs from the Hungarians, although other factors were certainly in play.[744]

In the two years between his response to Maria and the departure of papal envoys, perhaps to lay the groundwork for an appeal to Vatatzes, Innocent IV began to withdraw his support for the Latin Empire. The subsidy that had been instituted at the Council of Lyon was twice restricted in letters to the archbishop of Sens. In the first instance, an Augustinian house was exempt from payment and Baudouin II was specifically forbidden to collect from them.[745] In the second, "although we desire the tranquil and prosperous state of Constantinople," exemptions were established for

[742] Theiner, *VMH*, I: 203, no. CCCLCCVII; Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, no. 2954.
[743] Theiner, *VMH*, I: 203, no. CCCLXXVII.: "Ut igitur, Carissima in Christo filia, effectus huiusmodi negotii favilius subsequatur, excellentiam tuam requirimus et rogamus, quatenus nuntios, viros providos et discretos, ad prefatum Vatacium non differas destinare, quorum diligentie studio et sollicitudinis industria predictus Vatacius ad unitatem matris ecclesie revertatur."
[744] Our source for these events, Akropolites, moved directly from the attacks on Tzouroulos and Bizye to the Genoese occupation of Rhodes in 1248 and Vatatzes's attempts to retake the city, providing no account of the shift. In addition to the Hungarian response, the Genoese threat in Rhodes, the relative weakness of the Latin Empire compared to Nicaea's other enemies, and the natural break in the campaign over the winter, all probably moved Vatatzes to abandon his attack on the Franks. Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 85-88, ch 47-48. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 245-49, ch 47-48.
[745] Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, pp 356-57, no. 2404.

prebends vacant because of death or absence due to business.[746] Monies already collected, however, were not to be returned. Innocent IV recognized the great burden it would place on the Latin Empire, always strapped for cash, to return money already received and, almost certainly, spent. Other exemptions might have been issued. Certainly, there is little sign that Innocent IV sought to enforce the subsidy.

In the spring of 1249, more than two years after Maria's letter, Innocent IV dispatched Giovanni da Parma, the minister general of the Franciscans, to Vatatzes to negotiate for church union. The Franciscan chronicler Salimbene di Adam reported that Vatatzes, "hearing of the sanctity of Giovanni da Parma," specifically requested that the pope send the friar.[747] Even without such a request, Vatatzes's long-standing respect for Franciscans urged the choice of one as envoy. Innocent IV clearly placed a great deal of importance in the mission: He tasked the minister general of the order, instead of a lower-level friar, and gave him the authority to call a church council in order to bring the Eastern churches in line with Rome on the issue of the procession of the Holy Spirit, an authority that his predecessors in the 1230s had lacked.[748] The prestige of the envoy and the authority given to him reflect Innocent IV's genuine hopes for church union and his desire to disrupt the relationship between Vatatzes and Frederick II.[749]

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[746] Ibid., pp 521-22, no. 3468: "Licet imperii Constantinopolitani tranquillum statum et prosperum affectemus."

[747] Salimbene di Adam, "Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam ordinis Minorum," in *MGH SS*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1912), p. 304, ll 24-27: "Vattatius similiter imperator Grecorum, audiens sanctitatem fratris Iohannis de Parma, misit ad papam Innocentium quartum rogando, quod mitteret ei fratrem Iohannem generalem, quia sperabat, quod per eum Greci redirent ad precepta Romane ecclesie."

[748] Two papal letters, both dated May 28, 1249, survive—one charging John of Parma with the mission more generally and the second focusing on the debate of the procession of the Holy Spirit and granting him the authority to call a church council. Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, pp 129-30, nos. 4749-50. For the mission in the mid-1230s, see pp 157-61 above.

[749] Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp 362-64.

Negotiations between Innocent IV and Vatatzes continued, albeit slowly, until the deaths of both men in 1254.

Vatatzes was caught in the ongoing conflict between the pope and the Western emperor. He apparently did not recognize that friendship with both parties was impossible. In the spring of 1250 he sent troops to fight with his father-in-law and wrote to inform him of the victory at Rhodes.[750] Frederick II, unsurprisingly, was deeply opposed to negotiations between Innocent IV and Vatatzes. When Nicaean envoys to the papacy came into Italy, he detained them.[751] He wrote to Vatatzes, expressing his shock and dismay that his son-in-law had entertained friars sent by the pope.[752] The letter began with Frederick II's expressions of joy at Vatatzes's success in Rhodes, but it soon moved on to the more pressing issue: disparing the papacy and urging Vatatzes away from that alliance. Throughout the letter, Frederick II's language is incendiary, designed to enrage Vatatzes against Innocent IV and make the case that peace with such a man as the pontiff was neither desirable nor genuinely possible.[753]

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[750] In March 1250, Frederick II wrote to Michael Doukas requesting that he allow the Nicaean troops pass through his territory and sail from Dyrrachium. Michael, Frederick II argued, should support him against the pope who had accused the Greeks of impiety and heresy. N. Festa, "Le lettere greche di Federigo II," *Archivio storico italiano* XIII, 5 (1894): 14-16. For the role of the Greek troops also Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici Secundi*, VI: 761-62. Vatatzes's letter to Frederick II concerning the capture of Rhodes is known from Frederick II's reply. Festa, "Lettere greche," pp 21-22: "τὰς ἀποκομισθείς γραφάς τῇ αἰθριότητι ἐκ μέρους τῆς βασιλείας σου μετὰ τοῦ παιδρήτου παιδοπούλλου αὐτῆς μετὰ πολλῆς εὐθυμίας ἐδεξάμεθα."

[751] Nicholas de Curbio, *Vita Innocentii Papae IV*, RISS III, p. 592k: "tunc vero temporis, cum a Bathasio Imperatore Graecorum solemnes nuntii, utpote archiepiscopi, episcopi, quidam nobiles milites ad Romanam curiam mitterentur, prima facie in regnum Apuliae pervenerunt; ubi per adversarium dictae Ecclesiae Fredericum, ne posset concordia provenire inter Graecorum Ecclesiam et Latinam, per anum et dimidium sunt detenti."

[752] The letter has been published, in the original Greek and Huillard-Bréholles's Latin transation in Festa, "Lettere greche," pp 21-28. See Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp 363-65.

[753] Frederick II launched his argument with a reminder that the pope had excommunicated Vatatzes and his people and called the Greeks heretics. This was only the beginning: Frederick II accused his arch-enemy of opposing pious Latins and Greeks, of encouraging clerics to take up arms against Christians, of causing the defeat of Louis IX's crusading force in Egypt, and of calling for Frederick II's death and turning his men against him. The first salvo is typical of the letter: "οὗτος ὁ λεγόμενος μέγας

In addition to driving a wedge between Vatatzes and Innocent IV, Frederick II drew the Nicaean emperor closer to him. He opened the letter by expressing his pleasure (εὐθυμία, θυμήρη) at the news that Nicaean forces had recaptured Rhodes. He also appealed to Vatatzes's family feeling, invoking their kinship several times. He reminded Vatatzes that Innocent IV had condemned his marriage to Anna-Constance by accusing Frederick II of "contracting a marriage with heretics."[754] Frederick II's campaign to prevent Vatatzes from allying with Innocent IV continued in two further letters from July and September of 1250.[755] These did not touch directly on the issue of negotiations with the papacy or make an explicit argument for the Western imperial position. Instead, they informed the Nicaean emperor of Frederick II's military successes. In doing so, these communications called on the affection that existed between the father and son-in-law and portrayed the former as a desirable ally by emphasizing his strength.[756]

The Franks and Louis IX's Crusade

As Innocent IV and Frederick II jockeyed for Vatatzes's friendship, just as they had once for Baudouin II's, Marie de Brienne, the Latin empress, left Constantinople in the wake of her husband's arrival from the West. She had come East as a child in the

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ἀρχιερεὺς, ὁ πάντων ἐνώπιον καθ᾽ἑκάστην τὴν βασιλείαν σου ὀνομαστὶ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ σὲ Ῥωμαίους ἀφορισμῷ καθυποβάλλων, αἱρετικοὺς τοὺς ὀρθοδοξοτάτους Ῥωμαίους, ἐξ ὧν ἡ πίστις τῶν Χριστιανῶν εἰς τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξῆλθε πέρατα, ἀναισχύντως καλῶν, τοιούτους ἄνδρας πνευματικοὺς κατ᾽αὐτον πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἀποστέλλειν ὀυκ ἠρυθίασε." Festa, "Lettere greche," pp 22-23.

754 Ibid., pp 23: "ὅτι μετὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν συνοικέσιον ἐτρακταῖσαμεν."

755 These are also published in Ibid., pp 17-21, 28-30. Commentary provided in Martin, "O felix Asia! Frédéric II, l'Empire de Nicée et le "césaropapisme"," p. 478 and passim.

756 The close of the first of these letters makes this point: "Οὕτω γοῦν ἡ ἐκ θεόθεν βασιλεία ἡμῶν, τῇ ἄνωθεν προμηθία κρατυνομένη, τὸ ὑπήκοον ἅπαν αὐτῇς ἐν εἰρήνῃ διέπει καὶ δυθύνει, ὅπερ εἰς χαρὰν τῇ συγγενικῇ γνησία ἀγάπῃ τῆς βασιλείας σου διὰ τῶν παρόντων γνωρίζομεν." Festa, "Lettere greche," p. 24.

early 1230s and was now, finally, returning to the West. According to the *Récits*, in 1247, Blanche, desiring to see her great-niece, made her aid to Baudouin II conditional on his promise to send Marie west.[757] In the fall of 1248, fulfilling her husband's vow, Marie left Constantinople, carrying permission from Baudouin II to engage his Western lands in order to repay twenty-four thousand hyperers he had borrowed from various merchants in Constantinople.[758] Although we do not know how Marie paid this debt, if indeed she did, it sets the context for her visit and subsequent events, demonstrating the great poverty of the Latin Empire and its continued need for aid from the West. This document also expressed well Marie's role in her trip to the West; she acted as Baudouin II's representative for his Western lands and undertook the business of the Latin Empire.

Marie's first stop was Cyprus, where she met up with Louis IX's crusading forces. The presence of the Capetian king with a large force in the East presented an opportunity for the Franks to connect with their kinsmen, fellow French nobles and past and future supporters. Marie had come to solicit aid from Louis IX for the Latin Empire, or, as Joinville phrased it, "for her husband, who had stayed at Constantinople."[759]

After Marie disembarked, her vessel was blown off its moorings and she was bereft of her belongings. She requested that Joinville and Erard de Brienne, her cousin,

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[757] *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, pp 225-26, ch 439: "Par foi, dit la roïne, je vous presterai vint mil livres à rendre aus issues, et ainsi sera sauvée à vous et à voz oirs; en teil maniere que vous me jurerez sour sainz que dedenz le mois que vous serez revenuz en Coustantinoble, vous m'envoierez l'empereriz; car je la desir mout à veoir."
[758] Charles Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs française jusqu'à la conquête des turcs*, Collection des chroniques nationales françaises, écrites en langue vulgaire du treizième au seizième siècle (Paris, 1826), p. 433, no. XIII.
[759] Translation from Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 58, ch 139. Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 68, ch 139: "por son seigneur, qui estoit en Constantinnoble demourez." .

come to meet her. Joinville clearly found the empress charming. He sent her ermine, wool, and satin to fashion a dress, since her clothing had vanished with her ship.[760] Once clothed, she sought aid from the crusaders. Joinville insisted that "she did her work so well that she took with her more than a hundred letters in duplicate from me and from other friends she had in Cyprus. In these letters we were bound by oath, should the King, after his return from overseas, or the Legate, decide to send three hundred knights to Constantinople, to fulfill our undertaking and make the journey."[761] In fact, despite Joinville's admiration for Marie's persuasive talents, this outcome was less than impressive. Other than the material that Joinville provided Marie for a dress, no actual aid from the crusaders was recorded. There is no indication that Louis IX responded to Marie's appeals or encouraged the the crusaders to do so. Joinville related that after the crusade he went to the king and offered to go to Constantinople if the king desired to send a contingent. He did this "in the presence of the Count of Eu," Marie's brother Alphonse.[762] Perhaps Alphonse d'Eu also wanted to go in aid of Constantinople or promised to lead such a force, as someone close to the emperor. His presence in Joinville's vignette certainly provided a detail that lent the story veracity. Louis IX declined the offer, blaming the great expense of the crusade that made it impossible to finance such an expedition from the state coffers.[763] The story is self-

[760] Ibid., p. 68, ch 138. Translation in Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 58, ch 138.
[761] Translation from Ibid., p. 58, ch 139. Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 68, ch 139: "[Elle] pourchassa tant que elle emporta .C. paire de lettres et plus, que de moy que des autres amis qui la estoient, *es* quiex lettres nous estions tenus par nos seremens que se le roy ou *le* legaz vouloient envoier troiz cens chevaliers en Constantinnoble aprés ce que le roy seroit parti d'outre mer, que nous y estions tenu d'aler par nos seremens."
[762] Translation from Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 58, ch 140. Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 68, ch 140: "devant le conte d'Eu."
[763] Ibid.: "Et je, pour mon serement aquiter, requis le roy au departir que nous feismes, par devant le conte *d'Eu* dont j'é la lettre, que se il y vouloit envoier .III[c] chevaliers, que je iroie pour mon serement

aggrandizing, of course, highlighting Joinville's fidelity to his oath and to Marie. It also reveals the provisional nature of Western aid to the Latin Empire. The nobles agreed to take part in an expedition only if it was sponsored and financially supported by either the king or the pope. In the mid-1250s, neither of these two men desired to commit their resources to Constantinople.

Marie's visit was not the only connection between the Franks of Constantinople and the crusaders. In June of 1249, Baudouin II joined the army at Damietta, presumably to echo his wife's pleas for aid and to encourage those men who had committed to future expeditions. The visit is known only from Baudouin II's grant of the head of "ly pretieux chiez dou glorieus apostre nostre seignor, monseignor sain Jacque le frere nostre seignor," to Louis IX's brother Robert d'Artois.[764] Here, Baudouin II reached out beyond Louis IX and Blanche to strengthen his ties with other Capetians. Unsurprisingly, in naming Robert, the document specifies his relationship with the French king and their kinship with Baudouin II himself: "noble seignor monseignor le conte Tobert [Robert] d'Artois, le frere de monseignor lou roy de France nostre tres-chier cosin."[765] The Latin emperor almost certainly met Robert in his prior visits to the West. Louis IX's brothers had appeared in Baudouin II's documents before: His transfer of Namur to Louis IX specifically mentioned Robert d'Artois, Alphonse de Poitiers, and Charles d'Anjou, and instructed his men to obey their commands, as well as those of the king and Queen Mother. Baudouin II's hope for assistance from Louis IX's brothers appeared again in his later appeals to Charles

acquiter. Et le roy me respondi que il n'avoit de quoy, et que il n'avoit si bon tresor dont il ne feust a la lie." Translation in Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp 58-59, ch 140.

[764] Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, I: 1042.

[765] Ibid.

d'Anjou to help him recover Constantinople after it was lost to the Greeks. If Robert provided aid in return for the grant, no record survives of it and no other detail sheds light on Baudouin II's visit to Damietta.

A third resident of Constantinople and sometime official in the Latin Empire joined the crusaders. Philippe de Toucy, whose parents were Narjot de Toucy and the daughter of Agnès of France and Branas, was present at Caesarea. The Toucy family was prominent in Constantinople and Philippe himself had served as *bailli* of the Latin Empire during Baudouin II's absence in the West. Joinville, who had been silent about Baudouin II's visit, recorded Philippe de Toucy's participation, although he referred to the Frank by Narjot, his father's name. Philippe de Toucy came with nine knights and they entered into Louis IX's service for a year before returning to Constantinople. Louis IX recognized his kin relationship with Philippe, calling him "cousin, for he [Philippe] was descended from one of the sisters of King Philip, whom the Emperor himself had married."[766] Joinville's account does not tell us why Philippe joined the crusading army. He might simply have been struck with the desire to serve in and fight for the Holy Land, as many medieval men and women were. Guillaume de Villehardouin, the prince of the Morea, had likewise joined the crusading force as they approached Damietta.[767] On the other hand, Philippe's appearance in the wake of Marie and Baudouin II's earlier visits suggests that it might have had a political purpose. Baudouin II and Marie had each seen firsthand how important the crusade was to their royal relatives. Participating in the king's highest priority might encourage him, or

[766] Translation adapted from Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 150, ch 495. The translation names the emperor, which is not in the original. Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 244, ch 495: "et disoit le roy que il estoit son cousin, car il estoit descendu d'une des seurs le roy Phelippe, que l'empereur mesmes ot a femme."
[767] Ibid., p. 73, ch 148. Translation in Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 61, ch 148.

even other crusaders, to look with favor on later pleas for aid. Philippe's presence also strengthened the personal connections between the Franks in Constantinople and the French nobles who were often their kinsmen. He appears to have been well integrated into the army, entertaining the crusaders with tales from the Latin Empire.[768] In July of 1251, Philippe de Toucy received a loan from the king, although it is not apparent whether this loan was to cover crusading expenses, debts associated with the Latin Empire, or other, personal expenditures.[769]

The plight of the Franks made an impact on Louis IX, even if he was unable to supply significant financial aid. In 1252, while the crusaders were in the Holy Land, the king received envoys from Trebizond, who brought gifts and a proposal for a marriage between their emperor and a Capetian relative. Since there were no appropriate women in his company, Louis IX "advised them to go to the Emperor at Constantinople, his cousin, and ask him to give their Lord a wife who would be of the Emperor's lineage and his own." The king hoped that this alliance would provide Baudouin II with support against Vatatzes.[770]

Marie de Brienne to the West

By the time Philippe de Toucy was telling stories to the crusaders, Marie had long been in the West. When Marie left Cyprus in the winter of 1248–1249, she did so

[768] Joinville reported a couple of Philippe's stories about the Cumans, including the alliance between them and Constantinople and their strange practices. Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, pp 244-46, ch 495-98. Translation in Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, pp 150-51, ch 495-98.
[769] AN, J 441, de mutuis ultramarinis, no. 13. Published in Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 138, no. 3934.
[770] Translation from Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 176, ch 592. Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 294, ch 592: "Et le roy respondi que il n'en avoit nulles amenees d'outre mer; et leur loa que il alassent en Constantinnoble a l'empereour, qui estoit cousin le roy, et li requeissent que il leur baillast une femme pour leur seigneur tele qui feust du lignage le roy et du sien. Et ce fist il pour ce que l'empereur eust aliance a cestuy grant riche home contre Vatache, qui lors estoit empereur des Griex."

with her brother Jean d'Acre.[771] According to Guillaume de Nangis, Jean had gone west with Baudouin II in 1236 and stayed in the Capetian court.[772] He probably accompanied Louis IX on the crusade.[773] Another brother, Alphonse d'Eu. joined the crusade in the Holy Land.[774] In January of 1249, Marie and Jean d'Acre were in Negropont where she acknowledged various debts and provided letters requesting that Blanche repay the debts from the possessions of Marie and her brother.[775] Even before her arrival in France, these letters announced Marie's dependence on and confidence in her great-aunt. Blanche was an unsurprising choice as an agent entrusted with repaying the Latin Empire's debts. The Capetians had already been a source of financial aid to the Courtenays, and Blanche was regent during her son's absence. Marie would have known this from her visit to Cyprus, if the news had not arrived in Constantinople prior to her departure. Personal relationships might have been as important as official status. Three of the four letters refer to the kin relationship between the Latin empress and the French Queen Mother. In these, Blanche is, with minor variations, "la très haute et nostre très chière dame et très chière auntein ma dame Blanche."[776] Marie cannot have known her great-aunt well, but Baudouin II's close relationship with her had already affirmed and strengthened the bond created by their kinship. Royal quittances from

[771] Ibid., p. 69, ch 140. Translation in Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, p. 59, ch 140.
[772] Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis et de ses continuateurs de 1113 à 1300 et les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, I: 187-88.
[773] Joinville's use of "enmena" to describe her action suggests to me that Jean d'Acre was previously one of the crusading army and that Marie whisked him away with her, but I am unaware of other documents speaking to this question.
[774] Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 258, ch 521. Both Hague and Monfrin identify the count d'Eu as Jean II, the son of Alphonse and his wife Marie. But Alphonse was born in the mid-1220s, the son of Jean de Brienne and Berengaria of Castile. He was clearly identified as the count d'Eu in Castilan documents dated 1255. *Memorial histórico español: colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades*(Madrid: La Academia, 1851), I: 78, no. XXXVII: "D. Alfonso, fijo del Rey Johan Emperador de Constantinopla et de la Emperadriz Doña Berenguela, conde Do, vassallo del Rey." His son, Jean, could not have been of age in the early 1250s to go on crusade with Louis IX.
[775] AN, J 509. Published in *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 54-56, nos. 3737, 3740, 3741, 3743.
[776] AN, J 509. Published in Ibid., III: 56, no. 3743.

May 1249 reveal that Blanche's clerk repaid the debts for at least three of the creditors, as Marie had anticipated.[777]

Marie's creditors or their representatives were in France in May of 1249 and perhaps she was as well. No reliable source speaks to her activities duing her first few years in the West. Based on Baudouin II's previous visits, one would expect to see Marie in the papal curia on her way to France. There is no evidence, however, that she made such a visit. The papacy was not the ally it had once been. In the spring of 1249, the probable time of her arrival in Europe, Innocent IV had already limited subsidies to the Latin Empire and was giving Giovanni da Parma his brief for negotiations with Vatatzes. Marie's visit, if it happened, did not sway the pope to abandon these conversations or even to temper them with assistance to the Latin Empire. On the contrary, the papal registers are silent in these years about aid to Constantinople.

According to the *Récits,* Blanche was overjoyed to see Marie, who remained in the court until the Queen Mother died in 1252, at which point the young empress "took possession of [Namur]" which Blanche had given to her.[778] This chronology, unattested elsewhere, does correspond with Marie's appearance in Namur in June of 1253, seven months after the queen's death. In Namur, Marie faced great challenges to her possession of the county and attempts to control it.

Namur was a fief of Hainaut and thus of the Holy Roman Empire. In April of 1248, less than a year after Baudouin II's transfer of Namur to Louis IX, William of Holland, king of the Romans, recorded his decision that Baudouin II properly "held

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[777] Ibid., III: 69-70, nos. 3775-77.

[778] Translation from Robert Levine, trans., *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle* (Lewiston: Mellen Press, 1990), p. 103, ch XLI. *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, pp 226-27, ch 441-42: "Quant la roïne la vit, si ne fu onques joie faite se là non; et demoura avec li tant comme elle vesqui. Et quant elle mourout, elle li donna la contei de namur; et en fu en possession."

[Namur] from the empire and us, by feudal title, and owed liege and due homage."[779] This homage was to be performed to Jean d'Avesnes, the count of Hainaut. Neither Baudouin II nor anyone representing him had performed this homage for a year and a day, as law and custom required. Moreover, Baudouin II had transferred the county to Louis IX without Jean d'Avesnes's consent.[780] As a result, William confiscated the county and turned it over to the count of Hainaut. In a second document, William wrote to the nobles, garrisons, and inhabitants of Namur and its lands informing them of the judgment and ordering them to acknowledge Jean d'Avesnes as their lord.[781] In these documents, Baudouin II is "imperator Constantinopolis" and Louis IX "karissimus frater et amicus nostrus Ludovicus, illustris rex Francie."[782] The French king, unsurprisingly, is granted the closer and more affectionate title. Both men, however, despite being emperor and king, were expected to follow the ordinary rules of homage and conveyance of property. When they failed to do so, they relinquished their rights to the county. In the eyes of William of Holland and Jean d'Avesnes, Baudouin II was fully incorporated into the Western system of landholding. In practice, however, his upbringing and residence in the East put him at a disadvantage in terms of maintaining control over his Western inheritance. In his grant of Namur to Louis IX,

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[779] Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, II: 188, ch CXI: "ab Imperio et a nobis, titulo feodi, possidet, legium et debitum fecerit homagium, Balduinus, imperator Constantinopolis, qui eumdem comitatum ab ipso tenere debuit, postquam idem Johannes nobis de ipso fecit homagium, et ipsi Johanni tale homagium facere (debuit) quale dictum feodum requirebat, illud feodum suum, dictum comitatum Namurcensem, infra annum et diem, prout moris et juris est, nec per se nec per alium requisivit nec de ipso fecit quod debuit."
[780] Ibid.: "Balduinus imperator castrum Namurcence et omnes fortalitias ac possessiones eidem catro et comitatui attinentes, sine assenu et voluntate ipsius Johannis, qui prefati comitatus heres erat sicut ille a quo teneri debebat, karissimo fratri et amico nostro Ludovico, illustri regi Francie, per mutuum et custodiam obligavit, castri et comitatus predictorum eum constituens possessorem."
[781] Ibid., II: 190-91, ch CXII.
[782] Ibid., II: 188-90, ch CXI, CXII.

Baudouin II overreached in his efforts to employ his Western assets in support of his Eastern priorities.

Other than the Courtenays, the Franks in Constantinople rarely appear in Western archives after their departure for the east. A papal letter in 1241, however, suggests that the situation Baudouin II faced in Namur was not unique. In 1241, Gregory IX instructed his representative to give one-fourth of his collection from the Morea to Geoffrey de Méry, constable of the Latin Empire. The funds were needed to protect Asquili, a town near Constantinople. Geoffrey had to leave it to go to France to take control of his inheritance, but worried it would fall to Vatatzes.[783] Apparently, Franks other than the Courtenays remained involved in their western lands, at least at the point of inheritance.

In August of 1249, following Marie's arrival in the West, Innocent IV intervened on behalf of Baudouin II, requesting that William invalidate the sentence.[784] Someone "ex parte carissimi in Christo filii nostri, illustris imperatoris Constantinopolitani" had come before Innocent IV and requested his intervention in this matter. Although this person could have been Marie, his anonymity suggests a lower-level emissary. The timing implies either that Baudouin II sent a messenger to the pope as part of Marie's entourage or that she, upon her arrival in France, appealed to the pope. In the letter, which is notable for appearing during a period otherwise lacking in papal support for the Latin Empire, Innocent IV stated that Namur was under papal protection and argued that the sentence should be withdrawn since "it is very fitting that

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[783] Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, III: 547, no. 6089.
[784] Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, II: 217-18, no. CXXXIII.

you and all other catholic princes abstain from molesting this emperor.[785] The tone is not forceful, however, and Innocent IV stopped at suasion and did not threaten any consequences should William ignore the request, which he did. In fact, in July of 1252, William renewed the grant of Namur to Jean d'Avesnes, along with other lands that he confiscated from Jean's mother, Marguerite, the countess of Flanders.[786]

Marie continued to appeal to Innocent IV for aid. In November of 1252, he instructed the bishops of Paris and Évreux to protect Baudouin II's inheritance and to support Marie in her struggles to control it.[787] Marie, "carissima in Christo filia nostra M. imperatrix Constantinopolitana illustris," had sought Innocent IV's help against those clerics and laity who were giving her trouble. The pope did not name the offenders or specify where the land was. The letter could pertain to Namur or the Courtenay inheritance in France itself. Wherever the difficulties arose, Marie felt that papal intervention was necessary to resolve the conflict, and the pope, in turn, directed the bishops not to permit anyone to trouble them.

In the spring of 1253, after Blanche's death, Marie was in Namur, where she recorded a transaction with Foulques of Samson, who had received the castle from Baudouin II in 1237.[788] Her presence did not mark the end of the troubles there. In October of 1253, Marguerite, frustrated by her inability to obtain freedom for her Dampierre sons, offered Hainaut to Charles d'Anjou. In the absence of Louis IX, Charles d'Anjou, always lusting after additional territories and titles, accepted the

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[785] Ibid.: "ab ejusdem imperatoris molestiis eo magis te ac alios quoslibet catholicos principes abstinere deceat."
[786] Ibid., II: 282-85, nos. CLXIX, CLXX.
[787] Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, p. 127, no. 6071.
[788] Brouwers, *L'administration*, IV: 63, 68, nos. 100, 135.

county and, in December, he was in Valenciennes demanding fealty from Ypres.[789] He encountered significant resistance from the populace in Hainaut, and William of Holland prepared, in the winter of 1253–1254 to defend Jean d'Avesnes's claim to the county. Henri de Luxembourg joined the opposition to Angevin forces and, in February of 1254, Jean d'Avesnes bestowed Namur on him, a transaction approved by William of Holland.[790] In the summer of 1254, William of Holland established a treaty among "illustri domine Marie, Dei gratia Constantinopolitane imperatrici," Charles d'Anjou, "comiti Andegavie et Provincie," Marguerite, "Flandrie comitisse," the Frisons and all other followers of these parties.[791] The treaty set out the division of territory between Charles d'Anjou and Jean d'Avesnes. William avoided any disputed titles—Marie was the empress of Constantinople but not the countess of Namur, while neither Charles d'Anjou or Jean d'Avesnes was count of Hainaut, a title both used in their own charters.

Despite the agreement, control of Namur was still at issue. Finally, in September of 1256, Jean and Baudouin d'Avesnes renounced their claim to control Namur and revoked the grant to Henri de Luxembourg. According to their charter, they were moved to do so not by kinship or sympathy for the crusading enterprise, but by the exhortations of Louis IX. The two brothers addressed the charter to the king personally, referred repeatedly to him, and completed it in his presence.[792] In addition to their desire for Louis IX's support, the brothers had a more specific reason to be grateful. The French king, upon his return to France, had encouraged Charles d'Anjou to

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[789] For an account of Charles d'Anjou's involvement in Hainaut, see Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, I: 235-62. See documents in Ibid., II: pp 351-52, 355, nos. CCII, CCV.
[790] Ibid., II: 360-61, 395-96, nos. CCIX, CCXXXII.
[791] Ibid., II: 379, no. CCXXIV.
[792] The repetition is quite notable: "in presencia domini regis Francie", "concessimus eciam et promisimus dicto domino regi Francie", "in manu ipsius domini regis Francie", "si forte dictus rex premissa recovare vel irritare noluerit". Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, II: 324-25, no. 4292; Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, II: 422-24, no. CCXLII.

withdraw his claim to Hainaut and in 1255 Marguerite once again used the title countess of Hainaut.[793] The king's involvement had precipitated Baudouin II's loss of the territory, but his influence recovered it. For William of Holland and the d'Avesnes brothers, the future of Namur was entirely a Western matter. They referred with respect to Baudouin II, but the state of the Latin Empire and its dire need for funds did not enter into the equation.

Marie's control over Namur was short-lived. After she recovered the county, in 1256, a new conflict erupted. In the account of the *Récits,* the problem originated with unruly and violent teenagers, sons of important men of Namur. While attempting to rein them in, her *bailli* was killed. Marie reacted angrily, insisting that the whole of the city bear responsibility for his death. The citizens sought help from Louis IX but were dissatisfied with the response they received. Upon their return to Namur, they turned to Henri de Luxembourg, who came with an army and laid siege to the town for almost two years before it fell.[794]

The story of the *bailli*'s murder is unattested elsewhere. Other sources, however, speak of the financial exactions imposed by Marie on the citizens of Namur.[795] Exploitation of the city's resources was of a piece with Baudouin II's earlier use of his land to repay debts to Jean de Valenciennes and Flamenus de Ambliniaco.

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[793] Charles d'Anjou's relinquishment of Namur was done "à proière et à la requeste nostre chier segneur et frère Loeys, par la gracie de Deu roi de France." Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, II: 428, no. CCXLV. See Marguerite's acknowledgment that she owed Charles d'Anjou in recompense for his renunciation of Hainaut. Ibid., II: 424-27, no. CCXLIII.

[794] *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, pp 227-34, ch 442-55. Levine, *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, pp 103-6, ch XLII. Wolff provides a very helpful summary of the events and sources. Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 63, ftnt 41.

[795] Jean de Hocsem, *La chronique de Jean de Hocsem*, ed. Godefroid Kurth (Brussels: Kiessling, 1927), pp 35, 37. Guillaume de Nangis noted that Marie came to France in order to gather aid for Baudouin II. Guillaume de Nangis, "Chronicon," 557.

Resistance to Marie might also have been prompted by her status as a foreigner. The author of the *Récits* has her claim as much. After the death of her *bailli* "she almost went mad and she said: "Am I truly without friends in this foreign country?'"[796] Whether she said, or felt, this sentiment, the author believed it would be credible to his audience, suggesting that she was perceived as isolated. According to this account, far from identifying as a Westerner, she viewed herself as a foreigner in Namur and possibly in the West more generally.

Such frustration is understandable. After three years in Namur, struggling to regain her husband's inheritance from the d'Avesnes and Henri de Luxembourg, her success was followed by an uprising of her subjects. But Marie was not ready to give up control of Namur. The author of the *Récits* recounted how she called upon the countess of Flanders, her own brothers Alphonse d'Eu and Jean de Montfort, and, from Champagne, the count of Joigny and Erard de Vallery to help her raise the siege. The countess placed her forces under the control of her son Baudouin d'Avesnes, who prosecuted the war without enthusiasm. More than that, his forces apparently attacked the Champenois troops. In this struggle, Marie could count on her relatives and on men from the homeland of her father's and father-in-law's more than on her purported allies in Flanders and Hainaut.[797] Although the account of the *Récits* is often fanciful, the

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[796] Translation from Levine, *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle*, p. 104, ch XLI. Wailly, *Récits d'un ménestrel de Reims*, p. 228, ch 444: "Quant l'empereriz le sot, près ala qu'elle ne perdi le sens, et dist: 'Voirement sui je sans amis et en estranges contrées?'"

[797] For Guillaume III, count of Joigny, see Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, pp 278-80, no. 578. A cousin of Guillaume III's, Pétronille, married Pierre de Courtenay, lord of Conches before May 1249. Ibid., p. 250, no. 528. Guillaume III's maternal grandmother was Agnès de Brienne and his grandfather's first wife was Alix de Courtenay. For Alix see Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 874, ll 18-26 and Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, p. 27, no. 61. For Guillaume II's marriage to Élisabeth, daughter of Milo VII de Noyers, see Ibid., p. 139, no. 317. Milo VII's wife Agnès is mentioned in the same document. Milo VII was close enough to Erard de Brienne to act as a guarantee for him. Ibid., p.

author's identification of these four men—Alphonse d'Eu, Jean de Montfort, Guillaume III de Joigny, and Erard de Vallery—is probably reliable. First of all, the identifications were specific, naming Alphonse, Jean, and Erard and referring to Guillaume as "count of Joigny." These men were not stock characters in the *Récits*; this was their only appearance, adding validity to the author's identification. Moreover, these men were likely to be the subjects of appeals from Marie. Throughout Marie's reign as empress, she maintained a close relationship with her brothers, and Jean accompanied her from Cyprus and offered his lands as payment for her debts. Alphonse's presence in Namur was attested in a subsequent charter of Marie's, where he appeared as a messenger between her and Louis IX. Alphonse and Jean were in Castile for much of the late 1250s, where their presence was noted in a series of royal charters. Jean's name is missing from a charter where his brothers appear in the fall of 1257, and he may have been in Namur from the spring of 1257 to the winter of 1258.[798] The counts of Joigny, including Guillaume III, operated in the same circles as the Brienne and the Courtenay and had, in fact, intermarried with both families in the previous century. The Vallery were also an important family in Champagne and Burgundy.[799] The appearance of these men in Namur shows that the Champenois and Burgundian ties of the Brienne and the Courtenay had not died out.

134-35, no. 308. In 1217, they were excommunicated together. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, IV: 470, no. 298. Evergates spoke a little about the Joignys: Evergates, *The Aristocracy in the County of Champagne, 1100–1300*, pp 109, 232-33.

[798] The brothers first appear in a charter dated November 1255, following that in 1256 their presence is attested in January, July, and September (this last Alphonse and Louis only); in 1257 in March and October (the latter also missing Jean); in 1258 February, April, and September (the last missing Jean). *Memorial histórico español*, I: 77-147.

[799] Erard de Vallery (or perhaps several of them) appear a number of times in Quantin's volumes. See Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, nos. 489, 600, 614, 615, 627, 634, 741, 881. The last of these dates from 1252 and, thus, is likely the Erard who came to Marie's aid in Namur. In 1238, a relative of his, Hugh, lord of Vallery, appeared in a charter with Jean de Toucy. Ibid., p. 202, no. 446.

This assistance was insufficient to preserve Namur for the Courtenay. In July of 1257, Richard of Cornwall, who was pursuing his own claim to king of the Romans, recognized Henri's claim to Namur, based on Jean d'Avesnes's repudiated grant.[800] Marie's attempts to break the siege of Namur failed.[801] On June 17, 1258, a charter recorded Marie's assignment of Namur to Louis IX and reported that, at his request, she was "placing it in the hands of the countess of Flanders" and instructing her men to obey the countess.[802] Her brother, the count d'Eu; a cousin, Jean de Vallet; and the chamberlain of France, Pierre had conveyed messages between Marie and the Capetian king, once again showing her continued connections to France.[803] By June of 1258, Marie had given up. Her relinquishment to Marguerite was an admission that, even present in Namur, she could not govern the county. Instead, she moved on to Spain, where she sought aid from her maternal relatives. After several years of struggle over her husband's lands, it is not surprising that she would be drawn to her own relatives, especially since her brothers were there.

Jean d'Avesnes and his brother Baudouin were cousins of Baudouin II's.[804] The three greatest challenges to his Western land came from relatives—his sisters Mathilde

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[800] Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, II: 472-73, no. CCLXXV.
[801] Jean de Hocsem, *La chronique de Jean de Hocsem*, pp 35-37.
[802] "Cum il soit chose que nos ayens mis les chastialx, les fortereches et la terre de Namur en la main monseigneur le roy di Franche, liquelle nos a requis par nostre frere le comte d'Eu, par messire Jehan de Vallet nostre cousin, et par messire Pierre le chambellain de Franche, et il les chastialx, les fortereches et la terre devant dite, de par monseignor le roy, ayent mis en la main de madame la comtesse de Flandres, nous vous mandons et prions que vous obeissiez à madame de Flandres devant dite ou à son commandement." Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, II: 523, no. CCXCI. Marguerite announced her new acquisition a week earlier: "je ai pris en ma main les chasteaus, et les fortereces et le tiere de le conté de Namur, que li emperere Bauduins de Constantinoble tient de moi, pour garandir et pour sauver à lui et à ses hoirs, et promait ke je en boene foi les garderai et sauverai selonc men pooir, ensi com desseur est dit, au devandit empereur et à ses hoirs." *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 417-18, no. 4424.
[803] Duvivier, *La querelle des d'Avesnes et des Dampierre*, II: 523, no. CCXCI.
[804] Jean d'Avesnes and his brother were the grandsons of Baudouin IX of Flanders and I of Constantinople, through their mother Marguerite. Baudouin II was his nephew.

and Marguerite and his cousins Jean and Baudouin d'Avesnes. Of course, a threat from relatives did not set Baudouin II apart in the thirteenth-century West. Jean and Baudouin d'Avesnes themselves spent much of their lives in conflict with their mother Marguerite and their half brothers Guillaume and Guy de Dampierre over the rightful inheritance of Flanders. The repeated opposition that Baudouin II faced from various relatives, however, suggests that the ties of kinship were strained across the Mediterranean, especially when land was at issue.

In 1258, Marie had left Namur, after consigning Baudouin II's property to Marguerite. Now she moved on to Castile, where her cousin was king. During her time there, the empress sought funds to redeem her son, Philippe, who, in a sign of the abject poverty of the Latin Empire, had been sent to Venice as security for a loan. In an article from 1954, Wolff reconstructed the entire affair—the mortgage of Philippe and his time in Venice, Marie's visit to Castile and the aid she obtained, and subsequent negotiations between the Courtenay and the Castilian king. Wolff discussed in detail sources for Philippe's captivity and release, the most useful of which are Sanudo's three accounts, especially the *Fragmentum*, two almost identical Castilian chronicles; and a papal letter from 1266 denying dispensation for the accompanying marriage.[805]

Philippe had been mortgaged to the Venetians sometime before 1258. Historians know very little about events interior to the Latin Empire in these years, so the lack of evidence here is unsurprising, if frustrating. The dating was a matter of

[805] Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," passim, especially pp 56-58, inc ftnts 23, 24. Sources include: Marino Sanudo, ""Fragmentum" in Hopf's so-called 'Fragmentum' of Marino Sanudo Torsello," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, ed. Robert Lee Wolff (New York: Jewish Social Studies, Publication V, 1953), pp 150-53; Sanudo, "Istoria del regno di Romania," p. 115; Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," p. 73; Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, II: 303, no. 258.

debate between Hendrickx and Wolff, both of whom wielded an expert knowledge of the sources.[806] Noting the description of Philippe as "puerulus" and of his stay in Venice as "diu," Wolff argued for a date in the 1240s, probably as early as 1248.[807] He associated the debt for which Philippe was collateral with the twenty-four thousand hyperpers that Baudouin II owed and for which he authorized Marie to mortgage his Western lands. Hendrickx rejected this reasoning, arguing that "puerulus" could describe an adolescent and thus there is no need to attribute Philippe's residence in Venice to his childhood.[808] Complicating all this is the fact that the year of Philippe's birth is also unknown. It seems likely that he was born in the period between Baudouin II's trips to the West, 1240–1243. Marie would have been at most twelve years old when her husband left in 1236, and her departure immediately after his return in 1248 left no opportunity for a pregnancy and birth. Although it is not inconceivable that Baudouin II would have sent his eight-year-old son to Venice, it is unlikely. Even less likely is that, with Philippe residing with his father's debtors for ten years, no mention of him appears in discussion of Marie's visit to the West—not in terms of her time with Blanche, her debt repayments, the papal advocacy on her behalf, or her difficulties in Namur. Thus, although the question cannot be settled, I agree with Hendrickx that a later date, perhaps in the mid-1250s, is more probable.

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[806] Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis," p. 73. "quem & tam diu generis huius afflixerunt, vt filium suum, *Philippum* nomine, quibusdam burgensibus Constantinopolitanis coactus fuit, pro certa quantitate pecuniae obligare: qui dictum puerulum, securioris custodiae causâ, Venetias postmodum transmiserunt." Sanudo, "Istoria del regno di Romania," p. 115. "El qual Filippo era stato obstaso in Venetia per una quantità di denari, che 'l Padre avea avuto da quelli de Cà Ferro." Sanudo, "Fragmentum," pp 150-51: "Et maxime quia unigenitum filium suum Phylippum dedit pro pignore quibusdam burgensibus Constantinopolitanis Venetis de Ca Ferro pro certa pecunie quantitate. Qui Phylippus fuit transmissus Venetias, diu in Venetiis moram contrahens ulta post amissionem Constantinopolitanam aliquo tempore."

[807] Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," pp 52-54.

[808] Hendrickx's point by point refutation of Wolff's argument is in Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 161-65, no. 261.

Whenever his enforced visit began, there can be no doubt that Philippe was in Venice in January 1258, when Louis IX made provisions to forward one thousand livres tournois to cover the young man's expenses. Marie was in contact with Louis IX during this period, as her transfer of Namur proclaimed. One of the messengers might have conveyed her request to the French king that he aid her son. Louis IX's letter does not mention Marie, speaking only of providing money "pro expensis Karissimi consanguinei nostri Phylippi filii illustris imperatoris Constantinopolitani."[809] The money was received and in June of 1259 Philippe wrote to Louis IX thanking him for the sum.[810] Philippe addressed Louis IX in a conventional fashion: "Excellenti et Magnifico Domino Ludovico dei gratia Regi francorum illustri."[811] He identified himself as "Phylippus filius serenissimi domini Balduini dei gratia Constantinopolitani imperatoris (fidelissimi in Christo) imperatoris (a deo coronati Romanie moderatoris semper augusti) eius [Louis IX's] consanguineus."[812] Both sides, therefore, acknowledged the kin relationship and the other's title and status. Philippe's thanks were effusive; he used a form of "gratia" three times in one sentence and spoke of Louis IX's generosity.

This one thousand livres is the only documented example of Capetian financial help to the Courtenay after Marie's arrival in the West. It was a relatively minor contribution, especially considering that Marie was searching for money to redeem her son. Louis IX did charge his representative, Jean de Brabant, with working toward

[809] Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 49.
[810] Ibid. See also Hendrickx, *Regestes*, pp 167-68, no. 266.
[811] The letter is published in Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 49 and all quotes come from there.
[812] The parentheses indicate text crossed out in the original.

Philippe's release, but the Capetians were not the source of the funds to redeem the imperial heir.[813] Instead, Marie successfully sought this aid among her maternal relatives in Castile. Already in Baudouin II's prior visit, the Capetians had shown themselves less generous than in the 1230s. After Blanche of Castile's death, her son's interest in aiding his cousins diminished further.

In the late 1250s, Marie's primary destination was Castile, where she had close relatives and Baudouin II had already received the promise of aid, if not its fulfillment.[814] According to Sanudo, she also sought assistance in Aragon as well.[815] She had reason to believe the Aragonese were susceptible to an appeal: The king of Aragon's late wife, Yolande, was the granddaughter of Pierre II and Yolande de Courtenay, and thus the niece of Baudouin II, although probably close to his own age.[816] If Marie came overland, part of her journey to Castile would have most likely taken her through Aragon and a stop to ascertain the possibility of aid would have been natural. About Marie's stay in Aragon, nothing is known beyond this brief mention.

According to the various sources, Alfonso X provided the funds to recover Philippe as part of an alliance that included the engagement of Alfonso X's daughter to Philippe. Alfonso X's willingness to contribute this money, certainly a large sum, is never entirely explained. Sanudo linked the Castilian provision of monies with the

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[813] Jean de Brabant noted Louis IX's instructions: "Dominacioni vestre cupio fore notum quod me Veneciam applicante studiosus extiti circa negocium deliberationis domini Phylippi filii serenissimi domini Balduini Imperatoris Constantinopolitani fideliter prosequendum." Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 49.
[814] Despite the varying dates provided in the sources, Wolff has argued convincingly that Marie's visit happened between 1258 and 1261, when Philippe was free. Ibid., pp 59-64.
[815] Sanudo, "Fragmentum," p. 152: "Domina vero imperatrix uxor eius precesserat ad petendum auxilia regum pincipum et baronum et aliorum quorumcumque fidelium. Inter alios vero regis Aragonum Jacobi ac etiam Nanfosi generi sui regis Castelle petens auxilium pro recuperatione filii sui Phylippi iam dicti."
[816] She married James of Aragon in 1236 and bore him a daughter that year. Her mother, Yolande de Courtenay, had married Andrew of Hungary in the mid-1210s.

marriage arranged between Philippe and Alfonso X's daughter**.**[817] He mistakenly placed the redemption of Philippe and the arrangement of the alliance after the fall of Constantinople and so attributed the aid to the push for its recovery. Relocating the event to before 1261, as Wolff did, changes the context but not the purpose**.** As had Bonifacio del Monferrato, Theodore Lascaris, John Asen, Jean de Brienne and, later, Charles d'Anjou, Alfonso X saw marriage between his daughter and the imperial heir as a means to acquire a claim over Constantinople. When the negotiations began, Baudouin II still held the city and, thus, Marie was in a position to promise Alfonso X a future stake in the great commercial and religious center. Although this marriage never took place, later events confirm the Castilian king's ambitions toward Constantinople. In the early 1270s, Alfonso X married his daughter to the marquis of Montferrat to solidify an anti-Angevin alliance. More than twenty years later, he sent his granddaughter, Yolande del Monferrato, to marry Andronikos II and included in the dowry her claim to the kingdom of Thessaloniki, which she inherited through her father.[818]

In addition to Sanudo, two Castilian sources offer a single fanciful version of Marie's visit. In these accounts, Baudouin II, not Philippe, was in captivity, and he was held by the Saracens, not the Venetians. It also incorrectly places the event in 1268. This story confirms, however, the basic report from Sanudo: that Marie came to visit

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[817] Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 46. Sanudo, "Fragmentum," p. 152: "Et habuit maxime a rege Castelle, cum quo etiam ipsam tractabat parentelam, scilicet velle dare filiam suam filio suo Phylippo pro acquirendo imperium Romanie."

[818] Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: the Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), pp 44-48. Albert Failler, "Le second mariage d'Andronic II Palaiologos," *Revue de Études Byzantines* 57 (1999): 225-35.

Alfonso X and that he provided her with the funds to redeem her son.[819] Although the tale is obviously fabricated, the elements are evocative. In the Castilian version, Marie arrived in dramatic fashion—in the company of thirty dueñas clad in black—and refused to sit with the queen because of Baudouin II's captivity.[820] The queen acted as an intermediary between Marie and Alfonso X, relating the empress's sad tale to her husband, who insisted on providing the funds to redeem the emperor.[821]

A number of elements of this story are worth exploring. Upon hearing of her husband's captivity, Alfonso X asked why his own countrymen had not redeemed him. Marie responded that that was not the custom and that they felt that they had done enough by not replacing him with a new emperor.[822] This answer must have been shocking—to Alfonso X, if it was actually given, and certainly to the tale's readers. Even after the great Christian victory at Las Navas de Tolosa, raids and the detention of travelers resulted in significant numbers of Christian captives in Muslim kingdoms .[823] In Iberia, the ransoming of captives was the responsibility of the crown, the church, the various ransoming orders, relatives, and, indeed, the entire community. [824] Alfonso X's own law code, Siete Partidas, whose composition was already underway in 1258, spoke of the obligation to ransom captives. Sons who did not ransom their fathers could be

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[819] See the discussion in Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," pp 56-60.

[820] Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, *Crónica de España del Arzobispo Roderigo Ximénes de Rada*, Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España CVI (Madrid: J. Perales, 1893), p. 15: "E estando en Burgos, veniéronle nuevas de una Emperatrix que venia á él, que era su marido captiuo en tierra del Soldán, e venian con ella treinta dueñas, todas vestidas de negro."

[821] Jiménez de Rada, *Crónica de España*, pp 15-16; Cayetano Rosell, ed., "Crónica del Rey Don Alfonso Decimo," in *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (Madrid, 1875), pp 12-13.

[822] Jiménez de Rada, *Crónica de España*, p. 15: "E ella dixo que non era uso que diesen por él nada, mas antes decian ellos que le facian mucho cuando non facian otro Emperador."

[823] Rodriguez, *Captives & Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*, p. 10.

[824] Jaribel Rodriguez has demonstrated how the community of Aragon in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries was geared toward and around the redemptive of captives. Rodriguez, *Captives & Their Saviors in the Medieval Crown of Aragon*.

disinherited.[825] In this context, the idea of an entire political community that refused to raise the money to redeem their emperor was alien.

Alfonso X's question and Marie's answer reminds the reader that the barons of the Latin Empire displayed a great deal of independence and were willing to act in opposition to the emperor. Apparently, this was recognized and notable in the West. The relative weakness of the emperor when it came to his subjects, a term that seems inappropriate to describe his relationship with the French barons, was unfamiliar and, indeed, may have seemed dangerous to the Castilian emperor.

The Castilian fictional accounts credited Alfonso X's aid to Constantinople with his selection as German emperor. This latter event took place in 1257, before Marie's visit to Castile or the redemption of Philippe, thus rendering this chain of events impossible. His interest in Constantinople, however, might have been connected to his European ambitions.[826] Alfonso X faced a strong rival claimant for the German title in Richard of Cornwall, not to mention the Hohenstaufen.[827] A connection or even claim to the Eastern empire would strengthen his position as an international ruler, not merely a Castilian king. The Hohenstaufen emperors, especially Frederick II, had used crusading and support for crusader states to bolster their position.[828] Frederick II had at least twice interfered in favor of the Latin Empire in the 1240s, and Baudouin II and Marie could have easily reminded Alfonso X of these incidents. Crusading credentials

[825] Ibid., pp 39, 119.
[826] See Wolff's speculations on this matter. Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," pp 81-82.
[827] For a discussion of the French opposition to Alfonso X's candidacy, see Jones, *Eclipse of Empire?*, pp 114-18.
[828] Ibid., pp 340-45.

and international scope could only help Alfonso X in his desire to succeed to the Western imperial throne.

The Castilian chronicles also compared Alfonso X, favorably, to the Capetian monarch and the pope. According to the story, Marie had already received two-thirds of the sum needed from Louis IX and Alexander IV, but Alfonso X told her to return those monies since he would pay the entire amount.[829] The choice of the papacy and the French king is not accidental. As should be apparent by now, these were the Latin Empire's greatest allies and Louis IX had already provided a sum for Philippe's expenses and sent an envoy to inquire into getting the imperial heir released. Although there is no evidence that Louis IX or Alexander IV actually contributed money for Philippe's release, it is certainly plausible and the story placed Alfonso X in the company of and then asserted him above the two great institutions of the thirteenth century: the Capetian monarchy and the papacy. This comparison certainly played into his desire to become the German emperor. The Latin Empire, once again, was a pawn in European politics.

In addition to these political reasons, the family tie between Alfonso X and Marie, strengthened by the presence in his court of her brothers, Alphonse, count d'Eu; Louis, count de Beaumont; and Jean, count de Montfort; likely influenced him to aid her. From 1255 to 1274, the brothers appeared frequently in charters of Alfonso X's, where they were identified as children of Jean de Brienne and Berenguela, with their French titles and land, and as vassals of the Castilian king.[830] Their continued and

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[829] Jiménez de Rada, *Crónica de España*, p. 15.

[830] Their identity is certain: "D. Alfonso, fijo del Rey Johan Emperador de Constantinopla et de la Emperadriz Doña Berenguela, conde Do, vasallo del Rey, conf. – D. Lois, fijo del Emperador é de la Emperadriz sobredichos, conde de Belmont, vasallo del Rey, conf. – D. Johan, fijo del Emperador é de la

prominent presence in the documentation reveals them as close advisers and companions to the Castilian king, as well as, in the case of Alphonse and Jean, officials of the Capetian monarchy.[831] These relatives, at least, were a source of support to Baudouin II and Marie. The contrast between their behavior and that of the Courtenay siblings suggests that, as one might expect, it was not the kin connection itself but rather the personal relationship that garnered support and loyalty. Baudouin II's sisters were unwilling to relinquish land they had come to see as their own to a younger brother, whom they had never met before his trip to the West as a teenager. Marie's brothers consistently appeared at her side in France, Cyprus, Flanders, and Castile.

Finally, Marie's own personal appeal played a role in her ability to get funds. She has already appeared, in the account of Joinville and the *Récits,* as a persuasive woman with a dramatic touch. This portrait is confirmed in the Castilian account by the thirty women clothed in black and her refusal to join the queen at the table because her husband was in captivity.[832] She had spent the prior decade advocating for the Latin Empire in the west and presumably honed her presentation and arguments.

Marie's advocacy and Alfonso X's generosity secured Philippe's release at some time between June 1259 and May 1261. On May 1, 1261, he was present at Beauvais in the company of Louis IX, Thibaut II, king of Navarre (V count of Champagne), and the future Philip III.[833] The text refers to Philippe as "Philippo Balduini illustris Imperatoris Constantinopolitani primogenito." Louis IX had provided support and

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Emperadriz sobredichos, conde de Monfort, vasallo del Rey, conf." *Memorial histórico español*, I: 77-303 passim .The first dated from November 1255. Ibid., I: 77-79, no. XXXVII.

[831] Père Anselme, Augustin Déchauffé, and M. Du Fourny, *Histoire de la maison royale de France* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corportation, 1726), VI: 134, VIII: 518, 845.

[832] Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 57.

[833] Ibid., pp 54-55.

advocacy for Philippe during his captivity and the visit probably included an expression of thanks and a request for further aid for the failing Latin Empire. Louvet published this document in 1614. In the publication, the above-cited text was followed by "Buticulario." Wolff argued, persuasively I think, that Philippe's status as the imperial heir made it unlikely that he held the title of *buticularius.* Philippe's departure from Constantinople as a boy or young teenager and his long absence also casts doubt on this title. Instead, Wolff speculated that Philippe's uncles, Alphonse d'Eu and Jean de Montfort, who was the *buticularius* of France, were the subsequent witnesses in the document and that in transcribing it Louvet omitted a line of text, thus erroneously attaching the title of *buticularius* to Philippe when it actually belonged to Jean.[834] If Alphonse and Jean were present at Beauvais in the spring of 1261, they might have drawn Philippe to the Capetian court—or *vice versa*. If they were, it was a quick visit, since they were with the Castilian king on March 24 and May 30.[835] The Brienne siblings, brothers as well as sister, spent their careers in Castile and France, embodying their joint heritage.

Fall of Constantinople

As Marie struggled to regain control of Namur and sought assistance in Spain, negotiations between the papacy and Nicaea continued and demonstrated the weakness of papal support for the Latin Empire. In 1253, after Innocent IV's rush of correspondence concerning the Latin Empire, Vatatzes reached out once again to the West. He had subdued, once again, Michael II Doukas and sought, once again, a lasting

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[834] Ibid.
[835] *Memorial histórico español*, I: 181-84, no. LXXXIV, LXXXV.

peace through the marriage of his granddaughter and Michael II's son.[836] Vatatzes was still searching for a solution that would tie the Doukai to him and forestall future rebellions. Incorporating them into the Nicaean hierarchy, through titles and marriage, still seemed to be the best solution, especially when coupled with the capture of the troublesome Theodore Doukas.

A letter from the Greek patriarch, Manuel, to Innocent IV, tentatively dated to the end of 1253 by Norden, emphasized the great possibility of peace and the benefit it would bring to all of Christendom.[837] Manuel avoided mention of specific provisions, but the details are recorded in later letters of Alexander IV's summarizing the events of 1253–1254.[838] Both Vatatzes and Innocent IV were willing to make serious concessions in order to reach an agreement. The Greeks would accept papal supremacy in matters of faith and ecclesiastical organization, although they withheld a decision on the *filioque* question and suggested that a council be called to debate the issue. In exchange for these concessions, the Nicaean envoys requested their own in return: that Greek rule, secular and religious, be reinstated in Constantinople and that the Franks be exiled.[839]

The Nicaean offer clearly appealed to Innocent IV. He agreed to a council to discuss the *filioque*, although there could be no question that the Roman position was

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[836] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 88-90, ch 49. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 349-51, ch 49.

[837] I have only been able to find the letter in Norden's German translation, which includes the occasional Greek excerpt. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp 756-59. Norden's commentary about this letter and the reinstatement of the negotiations is illuminating. Ibid., pp 367-72.

[838] When Alexander IV restarted negotiations in 1256, his instructions to his envoy, the bishop of Orvieto, included a lengthy discussion of Innocent IV's and Vatatzes's positions. F. Schillman, "Zur Byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV," *Römische Quartalschrift* 22, no. Heft 4 (1908): 109-12.

[839] For discussions of these negotiations see Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp 367-76 and Schillman, "Zur Byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV" The details are known from communications of Alexander IV: Bourel de la Roncière, *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, no. 1406; Baronio and Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, yr 1256, sect 48-49.

the correct one.[840] Most startling was his attitude toward Constantinople. He was unwilling to commit to the reinstatement of Greek authority in Constantinople, but his response was far from a full-bodied proclamation of support for the Latin Empire. Instead, the pope objected that, without any legitimate charge against Baudouin II, he had no standing to remove him. He made a vague promise to do his best to resolve the outstanding issues—a ridiculous promise considering that the Nicaean demand was for the exile of the Franks from Constantinople, a move that would (and eventually did) bring the Latin Empire to an end.[841] Innocent IV also asserted his authority over secular offices, implying that, if a charge were to arise against Baudouin II, he could depose him.[842] This reminder would have rung a particular bell with Vatatzes who, because of his relationship with Frederick II, was well aware of this papal claim and this pope's willingness to use it. As an immediate concession, Innocent IV offered to call the Greek patriarch "patriarch of Constantinople" after the union. More significantly, the pope anticipated the Greek recovery of the great city, speaking of the day when "it should come to pass, by whatever means, that the city of Constantinople fall to (*devolvi)* the dominion of this emperor" and implying, if not outright stating, his willingness to see this happen.[843]

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[840] Schillman, "Zur Byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV," pp 116-17.

[841] Ibid., pp 117: "Porro de predicti imperii negotio idem nuntii hoc receperunt ab eodem predecessore responsum, quod super eo non vocato imperatore Latino contra iuris ratio non patitur aliquid diffinire, quia diffinitio irrita videretur, nisi adversus citatum confessum procederet vel convictum. Sed ut nichil de hiis, qu reconciliationi orientalis ecclesie cooperantur, ommitteret, paratum se obtulit ad compositionem inter prefatum Caloiohannem et imperatorem eundem interponere studiosius partes suas, confidens eam per suum studium provenire."

[842] Ibid.: "ad cuius tutelam christianis sunt distribute principibus administrationes secularium dignitatum."

[843] Ibid., pp 118: "ex tunc Constantinopolitanum patriarcham vere appellationis nomine nuncuparet, et postquam Constantinopolitanam civitatem ad eiusdem imperatoris dominium devolvi casu quolibet contigisset, eum faceret in antiqui patirarchatus sedem reduci, ut ibi residens preesset subditis, quibus in presentiarum noscitur presidere patriarcha latinus suis quos nunc habet subditis pacifice profuturo."

The deaths of Innocent IV and Vatatzes did not signal a final break in the papal-Nicaean negotiations. In 1256, after a two-year conflict with Bulgaria ended, Theodore II sent word to Alexander IV, Innocent IV's successor, requesting the reopening of the papal-Nicaean negotiations.[844] A series of papal communications, including instructions to the envoy, Constantinus, the bishop of Orvieto; and letters to Theodore II; the Greek clergy; Baudouin II; and the Franks in Constantinople, survive.[845] Alexander IV took the opportunity seriously. His instructions to Constantinus reviewed the offer made by Innocent IV and the response of Vatatzes, including the demand that Greek authority, secular and religious, be restored in Constantinople and the Franks exiled. The pope urged caution on his envoy. He was to try, essentially, to strike a better deal with Nicaea instead of simply picking up where the negotiations had left off in 1254. He had, however, "plenitudinem potestatis" if it seemed that unity was possible, including the authority to summon a council to resolve the *filioque* question.[846]

Alexander IV's letter to Theodore II, like his instructions to the bishop, discussed the negotiations between Innocent IV and Vatatzes. The pope repeatedly mentioned, and praised, Vatatzes. He extolled the virtues of peace and the piety and prudence of those who brought it about. He did not repeat Innocent IV's half-made offer to support a Greek return to Constantinople, but he did voice an expectation that Theodore II's secular authority would be strengthened by his reliance on the "solid rock

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[844] Akropolites gave a detailed account of the Nicaean campaign against the Bulgarians. Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 107-22, ch 54-59. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 281-94, ch 54-59.
[845] These are our source for the events of 1253–1254 as well as 1256.
[846] Schillman, "Zur Byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV," pp 118-19.

of the church."[847] To the Greek clergy, Alexander IV spoke at some length about the ideal of unity in the church, a state akin to that of the apostles, many members but one body. The unity, in addition to being the fulfillment of Christ's intention, would strengthen the Christian faith and diminish heresies.[848]

Alexander IV also sought the support of Westerners and Franks for Constantinus. To them, unsurprisingly, he was more circumspect about the goals of the mission. He wrote an open letter of introduction to clerics requesting that they assist Constantinus's travel through their lands.[849] He also wrote three separate letters to the Franks—one to the patriarch and clerics of the Latin Empire, one to Baudouin II, and one to the barons. He announced Constantinus's mission with the goal of "the reconciliation of the eastern church," and asked for their support for him in that undertaking.[850] Innocent IV and Alexander IV deceived the Franks in regard to the nature of their conversations with Vatatzes. Certainly, discussions of church union were familiar to the Franks of Constantinople. Gregory IX's legation in the mid-1230s had attempted to negotiate a Greek submission to Rome. These envoys had also mixed the political with the religious, at the urging of the emperor, clerics, and barons of Constantinople, and sought a year-long truce.[851] Innocent IV's offer, however, which Alexander IV was willing to second, to recognize a Greek patriarch and, eventually, to support the reinstatement of Greek secular and religious authority in Constantinople seriously threatened the Franks' hold on the city. The letters to the Franks reflect that,

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[847] Ibid., pp 123: "Unde tibi Deo dante proveniat, quod tronus tuus supra firmam petram ecclesie solidatus contra omnes temporum turbines, contra omnes incursus infidelium nationum inconvulsam obtinebit indeficientis roboris firmitatem."
[848] Ibid., pp 124-26.
[849] Ibid., pp 127-28.
[850] Ibid., pp 128: "apostolice sedis legatum ad partes imperii Grecorum pro reconciliatione orientalis ecclesie commisso, sibi plene legationis officio destinemus."
[851] See pp 157-61 above.

speaking only of the possibility for religious reconciliation and not the restoration of Greek power.

These careful preparations were for nought. The envoys were with Theodore II in September of 1256, but in October Akropolites was dispatched to dismiss them without an agreement.[852] This brought to an end, until after the reconquest of Constantinople, all known attempts at negotiated agreement between the papacy and Nicaea. The lengthy discussions, the exchanges of envoys, the remarkable concessions on both sides had failed to bring about reconciliation. Norden blamed this final failure on Theodore II's convictions and commitment to the status of the Greek church.[853] None of the previous attempts brought about reconciliation, however, and that the union accomplished in 1274 at the Second Council of Lyon floundered on the opposition of the Greek clergy and populace. It is hard to forgo the impression that reconciliation between the Eastern and Western churches, especially while control of Constantinople was an issue, was simply too fraught to succeed.

The collapse of the negotiations was followed by yet another breakdown in relations with the Doukai. In August of 1258, Theodore II Lascaris died and Palaiologos quickly rose to power, first as guardian for the heir John IV, then as despot and finally as emperor. Baudouin II, attempting to take advantage of Palaiologos's uncertain succession, sent ambassadors to negotiate a treaty. In Akropolites' account,

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[852] Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 321, ch 67: "Departing from Thessalonike, I arrived at Berroia; the pope's emisaries were there whom I was to dismiss by imperial order. I stayed there for a short time for the dismissal of the emissaries and a few other matters." Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 139-40, ch 67: "τῆς γοῦν Θεσσαλονίκης ἐξιὼν ἀπικόμην περὶ τὴν Βέρροιαν: ἐκεῖσε γὰρ ὑπῆρχον καὶ οἱ τοῦ πάπα πρέσβεις, οὓς ἀπεκβαλεῖν βασιλικῷ προστάγματι ἔμελλον. κἀκεῖσε μικρὸν προσκαρτερήσας διὰ τὴν τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπεκβολὴν καὶ δι′ ἑτέρας τινὰς ὑποθέσεις." Macrides offered a useful, if brief, summary of the evidence for the negotiations at Thessaloniki, which is only enough to confirm that they happened. Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 321-22, ftnt 3.

[853] Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, p. 380.

the newly crowned emperor mocked the messengers, who may have been Greeks, and, after refusing to give up one territory after another, offered peace in exchange for half of the tax on trade and transactions and of the revenue from the mint. "Thus put to shame, the ambassadors of the Latins returned home to Constantinople having accomplished nothing."[854] Nothing better illustrates the state of the Latin Empire in its last years than this incident. Once, during the reign of Theodore Lascaris, the Franks of Constantinople seemed a worthwhile partner. Forty years later, an upstart emperor in Nicaea teased and mocked the "so-called" emperor of Constantinople.

The threat to Nicaea and Palaiologos's power originated not in the Franks, but in Michael II Doukas, who continued to challenge Nicaea. Michael II had enlisted some unusual allies through marriage alliances. These arrangements demonstrate both the possibilities and weaknesses of marriage alliances, especially those that crossed cultural and geographic boundaries. Around the time of Theodore II Lascaris's death, Michael II negotiated alliances with Guillaume de Villehardouin, prince of the Morea, and Manfred, king of Sicily, alliances accompanied by marriages to Michael II's daughters Anna and Helena. Michael II Doukas made major concessions for these marriages to work—Guillaume got sixty thousand hyperper, gifts, and several castles in Thessaly as a dowry, while Manfred received recognition of his 1257–1258 conquests along the northern Epirote and Albanian coast.[855] In addition to his desire for land on the Adriatic

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[854] Acropolites, *Opera*, ppp 161-63, ch 78. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 352, ch 78. For confirmation of the embassy, and the information that the envoys were Greeks, see Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, I: 149-51.

[855] Nicol provides a good account of the circumstances and agreements. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, pp 158-72.

coast, Manfred's interest in the alliance might have been encouraged by the poor treatment his sister, Anna-Constance, received in Nicaea.[856]

Armed with his new relatives, Michael II Doukas dismissed Palaiologos's offers of peace. The new Nicaean ruler then appealed to Manfred, whose father, Frederick II,had been an ally of Nicaea's, "but how could he fulfil any of the emperor's wishes when he was absolutely bound to the renegade Michael and was possessed by the dream of a greater gain? The emperor likewise sent an embassy to the prince of Achaia. But he too, emboldened by the marriage alliance with the renegade, and expecting many benefits to come to him from it, held the discussions of no account."[857] At the end of 1258, Guillaume de Villehardouin and Michael II Doukas met to arrange a joint attack on Nicaean possessions.

The alliance, however, could not hold. As opposed to the unified Nicaean army, that of Guillaume de Villehardouin and Michael Doukas was beset by troubles. Nicol provided a stark evaluation: "[T]heir alliance was unreal and unnatural, and their relationships were bedevilled by the spirit of mistrust and misunderstanding that existed between Greeks and Latins."[858] On the battlefield at Pelagonia, Michael II Doukas's son John Doukas deserted to the Nicaean army, the despot himself fled, and the remainder of the Epirote forces dissipated. The prince and the Frankish army were left

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[856] See pp 236-37 above for Vatatzes's affair with her companion.
[857] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 163-65, ch 79. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 354-55, ch 79.
[858] Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, p. 180.

on their own and severely defeated.[859] Guillaume de Villehardouin and many of his barons were seized.[860]

The defeat at Pelagonia ended an intriguing possibility—an alliance between Greeks, Franks, and Westerners. Although there is no evidence of an official contingent from Constantinople, imperial barons did participate in the battle. One of them was Anseau de Toucy, the son of Narjot de Toucy and his French-Greek wife. Anseau's sister, possibly named Agnès, had married Guillaume de Villehardouin in the late 1230s, although she had died by 1258 when the prince married Michael II's daughter.[861] Another of Anseau's sisters, Marguerite, had left her Cistercian convent in order to marry an Italian in the service of the Villehardouin.[862] As Anseau's presence in the Morean army demonstrates, the ties between Constantinople and the Morea remained strong.

But Michael II's marriage alliances could not keep him in the battlefield. This collapse of this alliance, in which the participants had great hopes, highlights the unreliability of the Doukai. It is not hard, here, to sympathize with the anonymous author of the *Chronicle of the Morea* who, when describing the loss at Pelagonia, railed against the Doukai abandonment: "Who will hear of this and ever believe a Roman, either for love or Friendship or for any relationship? Never believe a Roman in whatever he may swear to you; when he wants and desires to betray you, then he makes you godfather of his child or his adopted brother, or he makes you an in-law so that he

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[859] For a look at how this incident in the *Chronicle of Morea* affirmed a Moreot identity see Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp 208-9.
[860] Acropolites, *Opera*, pp 165-71, ch 80-81. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 357-64, ch 80-81.
[861] Aubri de Trois-Fontaines recorded the marriage. Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicon," p. 939, ll 3-5: "Frater eius Guielmus, qui custodit terram suam, habet filiam Nargaldi, natam de filia Livernas et sororis regis Francie." See Longnon, "Les Toucy en Orient et en Italie au treizième siècle," p. 9.
[862] Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, p. 40, no. 5647.

may exterminate you."[863] In a world in which marriages and their ensuing kin connections were supposed to create political alliances, the repeated behavior of the Doukai was maddening to Greek and Frank alike.

Palaiologos set out for Constantinople in the spring of 1260, preparing to take the city. According to Akropolites, Palaiologos hoped to take it with the cooperation of an insider—as Vatatzes had taken Melnick and Thessaloniki. A Frank named Anseau, who was a relative and ex-prisoner of Palaiologos's, agreed to open the gate for the Nicaean troops. "And he [Anseau] was believed when he said this; for their kinship provided the illusion that the man was telling the truth and Anselm [Anseau] had received promises, confirmed by oaths, of more honours and gifts […] of the Franks in the battle of the prince of Achaia."[864] Secondary sources have variously identified this Anseau as either Anseau de Cayeux or Anseau de Toucy. Anseau de Cayeux and Palaiologos were distantly related by marriage, while Anseau de Toucy had been captured at Pelagonia. Whoever Anseau was, he did not follow through on his arrangement with Palaiologos. Instead, he stalled until he finally announced that he was no longer entrusted with the keys to the gate. Not ready to take Constantinople by siege, Palaiologos agreed to a one-year truce with the Franks and retreated to Asia

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[863] Translation in Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of the Morea*, p. 187. Codex Havniensis in Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea. To Chronikon tou Moreos*, p. 260, ll 3932-37:
"Ποῖος ν᾽ ἀκούσῃ πώποτε Ρωμαίου νὰ ἔχῃ πιστέψει
δι᾽ ἀγάπην γὰρ ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ καμμίαν συγγένειον;
ποτὲ Ρωμαίου μὴ ἐμπιστευτῇς διὰ ὅσα καὶ σοῦ ὀμνύει:
ὅπαν θέλῃ καὶ βούλεται τοῦ νὰ σὲ ἀπεργώσῃ,
τότε σὲ κάμνει σύντεκνον ἢ ἀδελφοποιτόν του,
ἢ κάμνει σε συμπέθερον διὰ νὰ σὲ ἐξολοθρέψῃ."
[864] Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 367, ch 83. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 174, ch 83: "Καὶ ἐπιστεύετο λέγων ταῦτα: τό τε γὰρ συγγενὲς φαντασίαν ἐδίδου τοῦ ἀληθεύειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ τὸ πλειόνων τε τιμῶν καὶ δωρημάτων ὑποσχέσεις ἐνωμότους λαβόντα*** Φράγγων ἐν τῇ τοῦ πρίγκιπος Ἀχαΐας μάχῃ." (The *** notes a lacuna in the text.)

Minor.[865] Other sources recounted a full-scale attack on the city, which failed.[866] Constantinople might be immersed in poverty and bereft of defenders, but its walls still presented a formidable challenge to any attacking force.

In 1260, the Venetians, along with the barons, left in the Morea and the lords of the Western-held islands in the Aegean, agreed to finance a garrison of one thousand men in Constantinople to provide for the permanent defense of the city.[867] Strangely enough, this provision, which seemed to fill the ever-present need of the Latin Empire for a permanent fighting force, doomed the city. In the summer of 1261, Palaiologos dispatched two armies to Europe to fight Michael II, who had not given up his ambition, and Constantine, the Bulgarian tsar and John IV's brother-in-law, the son of Theodore II Lascaris who had been shunted aside by Palaiologos.[868] He gave them orders to launch a fake attack on Constantinople, instructing the caesar that "he should make an assault against it and the army should run up to its very gates so that they might instil terror in the Latins inside."[869] Palaiologos was still hesitant to devote his energies to an all-out siege of the city. The defending forces, however, had departed Constantinople to attack on a Nicaean possession in the Black Sea. Some members of the Nicaean forces had lived in Constantinople and they informed the caesar of a narrow opening in the wall. A small number of men entered through the gap and, overwhelming the gatekeeper, threw open the doors to the city and the Nicaean troops entered. The Frankish residents of the city panicked and hid themselves as best they could, as the

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865 Ibid., pp 174-75, ch 83. Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, pp 367-68, ch 83.
866 See the comments in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 368.
867 The agreement is published in Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, 760-61.
868 See comments in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 377, ftnt 1.
869 Translation from Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 375, ch 85. Acropolites, *Opera*, p.181, ch 85: "ἔφοδόν τινα κατ᾽αὐτῆς ποιήσασθαι καὶ μέχρι τῶν πυλῶν αὐτῆς ἐπιδραμεῖν τὰ στρατεύματα, ὡς ἂν πτοία παρ᾽ αὐτῶν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐντὸς Λατίνοις ἐγγένηται."

Greeks set fire to Western quarters. The Venetian-led fleet returned to find the city in flames and the Western population desperately seeking escape. Baudouin II himself had fled to the Great Palace, from which a ship collected him.[870] Finally, just more than fifty-seven years after the Fourth Crusaders captured it, "these things happened in this way, and by the providence of God the city of Constantine again became subject to the emperor of the Romans, in a just and fitting way."[871]

[870] Ibid., p. 183, ch 85. Translation in Akropolites, *George Akropolites: The History*, p. 376, ch 85.
[871] Translation from Ibid. Acropolites, *Opera*, p. 183, ch 85: "καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω ζυνέβη, καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντίνου προνοίᾳ θεοῦ καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο κατὰ λόγον δίκαιόν τε καὶ προσήκοντα."

CHAPTER 8:

THE FRANKS IN EXILE, 1261–1282

The fall of Constantinople to the Greeks in 1261 does not mark the end of the Latin Empire's story. Far from it—the twenty years following the Franks' flight witnessed a variety of diplomatic activity involving the empire and its principals. Baudouin II pursued alliances with Manfred, Urban IV and his successors, Alfonso X, and Charles d'Anjou—at times simultaneously. Seeking aid wherever he could find it, the exiled emperor did not seem to mind, or perhaps even to consider, that the Hohenstaufen and Castilian rulers, for example, were at odds, not to mention the ongoing conflict between the former and the papacy. He took sides based on his own needs and not on any principaled position. His pursuit of all possible avenues of support turned out to be harmful, alientating potential supporters, especially the papacy. Once the Franks had been exiled, Constantinople and Baudouin II's title held more interest for Westerners than it had during the previous decades. Although, at moments, the possibilities were promising, in the end European politics and, for the papacy, the hope of church union through negotiation, doomed the prospects for Frankish recovery of Constantinople. This chapter traces Baudouin II's attempts after 1261 to secure aid in the West and responses from popes, kings, dukes, and counts. This process of discussions, promises, and retreat revealed the weaknesses in Baudouin II's strategy.

In July of 1261, as Greek forces occupied the city, the Venetian fleet collected Baudouin II, among others, from the Great Palace, on the Sea of Marmara, and took

him to Greece.[872] One can only imagine his shock. Despite the many years Baudouin II had spent in the West, Constantinople was his home. He had been born there and been the presumptive heir or emperor since childhood. Although frequently tested, the city's walls had held against direct attack in his lifetime and, in fact, held in the summer of 1261. It was only with the knowledge of Greek natives of the city that the Nicaean army found gaps in the wall and entered the city. In hindsight, the fall of Constantinople seems inevitable. Defended by a small number of underresourced men, unable to recruit help from the West, the city could not hold out forever against the gathering strength of Nicaea. Yet, yet. Had Michael II Doukas's alliance with Manfred and Guillaume de Villehardouin held on the battlefield and the battle of Pelagonia gone the other way.[873] Had Philippe de Courtenay, released from Venetian custody, returned with a significant force from Castile and France. Had the Nicaean commander in 1261 feinted at the city and moved on, as his instructions had imagined. Palaiologos's own disbelief at the city's fall shows that contemporaries did not view it as inevitable, at least not at that moment. Even after it happened, Baudouin II's actions, the Western response, and Byzantine reaction show that they all believed in the possibility of Western recovery. If the city had been taken once, it could be taken again and, this time, with a Sicilian alliance, it could receive the support it needed.

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[872] Sanudo testified to this: "Amissa vero civitate Constantinopolitana, currente anno domini milesimo ducentesimo, imperator Balduinus de Constantinopoli fuit egressus, cum navibus comunitatis Venetiarum veniens cum multo popolo tam Veneto quam aliis gentium generationibus, masculis feminis et parvulis, qui cum eo se reduxerunt in navigiis Venetorum." Wolff, "Fragmentum," p. 151. Canale also described Baudouin II's flight: "Voirs fu, ensi com ie vos ai contes sa en ariere, que Monsignor Marc Gradenic conduist li Empereor a Nigrepont; et il trova Monsignor Laurens Teupes que il dona la moite de son vaselement d'arient ei un biau destrier; et Mesire li Prince de la Moree le aaisa por seiorner." Canale, "Cronicon," p. 498, ch CLXXXIX.

[873] Geanakoplos saw the alliance as doomed but also mused that it if had held together, Constantinople might have remained in the hands of the Franks. Deno John Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: a Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp 58-59, 73-74.

In 1261, however, the Franks fled to the Aegean Islands and to southern Greece, the havens closest to Constantinople. Although the Frankish lords there had long acted independently from the Latin Emperor, they remained loyal allies. In the mid-1230s, Geoffroy II de Villehardouin had come to the rescue of the city.[874] The papacy frequently sought support for the Latin Empire in the Morea, although the Franks there were not always eager to contribute funds.[875] Noble families such as the Toucy spanned the Aegean, appearing in both Constantinople and the Morea.[876] Sanudo described the warm reception which Baudouin II received in Negropont. The ruler of Athens, the duchess of Nacos and Andros, and the lords of Negropont received him with great honor and magnificent gifts.[877] Although it had been many years since the Latin Empire had exercised significant power in the region, the imperial title still had prestige. In Greece, Baudouin II knighted a number of men, fulfilling his ceremonial role as their overlord.[878]

In October, Baudouin II was in Athens where he relinquished to Otho de Cicon, lord of Carystos on Negropont, several items that he had used as collateral for a loan, including a relic of John the Baptist's arm of.[879] The date of the loan is uncertain but was likely before the fall of Constantinople. Even when in possession of his city,

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[874] See pp 162-64 above.

[875] See, for example, from 1218: Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, pp 749-50, no 50; from 1224: Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, pp 283-84, nos. 5186, 5189; from 1236: Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX*, II: 522-23, no. 3409; from 1238: Ibid., II: 858-60, no. 4035; from 1243: Berger, *Registres d'Innocent IV*, pp 6-7, no. 22; from 1252: Ibid., p. 100, no. 592. é

[876] Longnon, "Les Toucy en Orient et en Italie au treizième siècle".

[877] Wolff, "Fragmentum," pp 151-52: "Sed ad imperatorem Balduinum Latinum revertar, qui venit de Constantinopoli Nigropontem ubi a suis hominibus fuit gratanter receptus, prout ab illis de Rocia qui ducatui Athenarum dominabantur. Ac etiam a ducissa Nichxie et Andre et aliarum insularum. Et a dominis Nigropontis magnifice fuit receptus et quamplurimum honoratus, eidem dona magna largientibus secundum possibilitatem eorum."

[878] Ibid., p. 152: "Qui imperator ibi plures milites fecit." For an assertion of the importance of the Latin emperor's formal position as overlord see Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500*, pp 166-67.

[879] The loan was for five thousand hyperpers. Two years later, Otho donated the relic to the Cistercians. Riant, *Exuvie sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, II: 144-49, nos. XCII, XCV-XCVII.

Baudouin II had few sources of income, as constantly demonstrated by his pleas for aid and the many loans he took out.[880] Once exiled, he acknowledged the futility of trying to pay back this loan and instead relinquished the relic.

Some exiled barons remained in the Morea. The *Chronicle of Morea* named twelve such individuals, from seven different families, and said that others also settled there.[881] These men included Anselin de Toucy and Villain d'Aulnay, both important figures in the Latin Empire. According to the *Chronicle,* in at least two cases siblings remained together. Clerics originally based in Constantinople also relocated, in large part at least, to other Frankish states in the Aegean.[882] The appeal of Greece is easy to understand. Fist of all, the cultural similarities were profound. The Franks in southern Greece, like those from Constantinople, came from families who came from the West, mostly France, one or two generations before. Moreover, Palaiologos's triumph at Pelagonia and the death and capture of many Franks had substantially weakened the principality and the remaining community likely welcomed the arrival of men fresh from Constantinople and motivated to fight the Greeks. According to the *Chronicle*, Anselin de Toucy married the mother of Geoffroy de Tournay, and Villain d'Aulnay received Arkadia. After decades of losing their land to the growing Greek powers and

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[880] In the late 1250s, the Venetians authorized several loans to Baudouin II for the defense of Constantinople. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, pp 79-80.

[881] The Greek version lists Ancelin de Toucy, Vilain d'Aulnay, four d'Aby brothers, two d'Agny brothers, and at least one member of the Plancy, the de Brice, and the d'Espinas, among others. The French version has a slightly difference list, including a member of the de Nivelet family; the Italian version has a much-abbreviated account; and the Aragonese version omits the section. See the text and translation in Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp 324-36.

[882] This is known from Urban IV's letters making arrangements for clerics who had been exiled from Constantinople. In October 1263, he placed clerics in Athens, Methoni, Negropont, and Thebes. Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, pp 436-37, nos. 908-11. The following spring, he wrote to the bishop Corinth and priors of a church in Negropont with a similar request. Ibid., pp 230, 425, nos. 1564, 2522.

their increasing confinement to Constantinople, the possibility of acquiring their own property in a society that needed military leaders must have been appealing.

Baudouin II's warm welcome in Greece and his close relations with the Franks, however, did not keep him there. He was not prepared to settle down as a permanent exile, and if he was going to regain Constantinople he needed the kind of assistance that only the West could provide. Palaiologos had already demonstrated his ability to defeat the Franks on the battlefield. In 1261, Palaiologos still held Guillaume de Villehardouin, and the Byzantines, now restored to their ancient capital in Europe, posed a new and heightened threat to the Franks in Greece, who, far from sponsoring Baudouin II's return to his city, needed outside aid themselves.

The Courtenays in Europe

Leaving Greece, Baudouin II continued west to Italy where he met Manfred.[883] The encounter was probably unplanned. Baudouin II's journey west would have logically brought him to Italy, where he could seek the papacy's immediate financial support and institute the process of gathering resources to retake the lost city. Canale painted the scene: Manfred "went to meet him and received him most cordially, with joy and feasts … and gave him gold and silver plate and cloths of silk and beautiful destriers and palfreys and other horses for his suite, and many servants to serve them."[884] In doing so, Manfred transformed Baudouin II from a destitute refugee back into an imperial figure. After this, Manfred gave Baudouin II funds and "promised him

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[883] Sanudo gave this impression: "Et inde descendens venit in Apuliam, illic inveniens quod princeps Manfredus Tarenti in Apulia et Sicilia regnabat." Wolff, "Fragmentum," p. 152

[884] Translation adapted from Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 66. Canale, "Cronicon," pp 498-500, ch CLXXXIX: "Quant li rois Manfrois que a celui tens estoit sire de Puille et de Cesile, sot la venue de Monsignor li Enpereor de Coustantinople, si li ala a l'encontre, et le resut mult bel, et li fist ioie et feste, et le aaisa de totes iceles choses que apartient a voir Enpereor; et li dona vaisselement, que d'or que d'arient, a devise; li biaus dras de soie, biaus destriers et palefrois et autre chevaus por sa maisnee, et maint vaslet por lui servier."

the aid of his own body" to regain Constantinople.[885] He had a request in return: that the Latin emperor seek a reconciliation between Manfred and the pope, in return for which Manfred would participate in the crusade to regain Constantinople. If Urban IV conceded Apulia to the German king, he would even go to the Holy Land to recapture Jerusalem.[886] If the pope did not want him to lead a crusade to the Holy Land, he offered to aid Baudouin II in the Latin Empire.[887]

Manfred's assistance was not dependent on peace with the papacy. He enfiefed Frankish barons with lands, establishing a permanent relationship with them.[888] The settlement of barons in the Morea and in Sicily confirms the impression left by the absence of these men in the archives of Champagne and Burgundy: that they, unlike their emperor, no longer had significant ties to Western land and institutions. Soon after his departure, Mathilde de Courtenay and her husband had imagined the return of Narjot de Toucy and made provisions to protect the chapter of Auxerre from his claims.[889] Yet, in 1261, exiled from their home, Narjot's descendants did not return to the lands of their parents but rather established themselves in the territory of the Latin Empire's allies.

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[885] Ibid., p. 500, ch CLXXXIX: "Et apres li dona grant plante de mehailles d'or por despendre, et li promist l'aide que de son cors meesme, que de ces Barons, que de ces homes a sa despanse."

[886] Ibid., p. 500, ch CXC: "Sire Enperere (fait li Rois Manfrois), vos ales a Monsignor l'Apostoille ensi com vos dites. Il n'est bien de moi: de voir le sai. Ie veul, se il vos plest, que vos li dites de par moi, que se il me veut doner sa grace et pes, ou au mains trive, ie passerai en Romanie aveuc vos a ma despanse, et vos metrai en sasine de Coustantinople; et au retorner que ie ferai en Puille, se il me vodra doner Puille, m'en irai dela la mer a tot mon esfors; et ferai tant a mon pooir, que ie prendrai Ierusalem, que paiens ont en sasine, et le rendrai a la sainte crestientes."

[887] Ibid.: "Et se Monsignor l'Apostoille ne vodra fere ceste chose, et vos passes en Romanie, ie vos donerai mult bele aide."

[888] Ibid.: "et apres li dona li Baron de sa tere grant plante d'or et d'avoir."

[889] AD Yonne, G 1846: "In super dixit quod si Nariodus frater Iterii de Tociaco qui in partibis Costantinopolitanis existit, rediret et super hiis capitulo molestiam aliquam inferre vellet, vel etiam quilibet alius nos ea garantine teneremur capitulo prefato, et resarcue ei omnia dampna, et gravamina qui hoc sustineret, et pre omnia ipsum conseruare indempne."

In 1261, Manfred was a promising prospect. He had already demonstrated his interest in the East with his marriage to Helen of Epiros, Michael II Doukas's daughter, and his alliance with Epiros and the Franks at Pelagonia. In the early 1240s, his father, Frederick II, had extended help to the Latin Empire, facilitating two treaties with Vatatzes. His son now demonstrated similar goodwill, and Sicily had great potential as a base from which to recover Constantinople. For Manfred, as for his father twenty years earlier, Baudouin II provided the opportunity to demonstrate his piety to the papacy.[890] That he would attempt this is not surprising, nor is the failure of the strategy. The Hohenstaufen had been on bad terms with the papacy for decades. The exile of the Franks from Constantinople did not change that.

Baudouin II left Manfred and proceeded to the papal curia, where he was by April 1262.[891] Representatives from the doge of Venice joined the Latin emperor and added their pleas to his.[892] Their presence in the spring of 1262 explains the series of letters coming out of the papal curia in late spring and early June, calling for collections in favor of the Latin Empire and even a crusade. A letter to the minister provincial of the Franciscans in France (undated, but probably from June of 1262) instructed him to

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[890] See more extensive discussion below.

[891] Canale, ch CXCI, 500: "Quant demora Monsignor li Enpereor de Coustantinople aveuc li Rois Manfrois, com a lui plot. Et puis prist conie, et s'en ala a Monsignor l'Apostoille, et fist devant lui la complainte de sa ville que enblee li estoit par nuit. Et Monsignor l'Apostoille li la cruis." In a charter allowing a marriage within the prohibited degrees of kinship, Urban IV referred to Baudouin II's support for the dispensation: "Nos itaque carissimi in Christo filii nostri Balduini, imperatoris Constantinopolitani illustris." Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, p. 27, no. 86. As far as I know, the couple, Alatrino Rimmanni and his wife Letitie, daughter of Johannis Luce de Freento, had no connection to the Latin Empire or to the Courtenays.

[892] Ibid., p. 47, no. 131: "considerantes etiam, quod carissimus in Christo filius noster Balduinus, illustris imperator Constantinopolitanus, et nobilis vir dux Venetorum, sicut idem imperator et ejusdem ducis nuntii nobis in nostra constituti presentia retulerunt, una cum prelatis et baronibus principatus jamdicti magnificum tam per mare quam per terram, pro succursu ejusdem imperii jam disposuerunt facere apparatum, ac volentes eos in hoc fidelium Christi presidiis adjuvari, digne providimus fore ab eisdem fidelibus oportunum propter hoc suffragium postulandum."

preach the crusade and have others do so as well.[893] The Franciscans, of course, had a long history of preaching the crusade and engagement with the East, including as envoys to the Nicaean Empire.[894] Several letters to the bishop of Agen provided instructions on the collection of the subsidy for the Latin Empire. Agen was in the territory of Alphonse de Poitiers, Louis IX's brother, and had earlier been a possession of Raymond de Toulouse's; Toulouse had been Baudouin II's companion in missions between Frederick II and Innocent IV.[895] Eudes Rigaud, who was the archbishop of Rouen, a Franciscan and close adviser to the king, was involved with the collection. Simultaneously with this effort, Baudouin II was to be gathering an army to return to Constantinople. He had the authority, in consultation with the bishop of Agen and the archbishop of Rouen, to distribute funds to princes, dukes, counts, and barons who promised to aid the Latin Empire.[896] Venetian ships would carry these men without cost to the East.[897] Here was the support missing in the 1250s.

In one of his letters to the bishop of Agen, Urban IV included correspondence to Louis IX, encouraging his support for Baudouin II and describing the plan.[898] This letter probably preceded Baudouin II to France, where Philippe, his son and heir, had already been in the company of Louis IX for over a year.[899] In the summer of 1262, Philippe and his uncles, Alphonse d'Eu and Jean de Montfort, appeared as witnesses in a document in which King James I of Aragon, in anticipation of the marriage of his

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[893] Guiraud placed the letter in June 1262. It correlates with other papal correspondence from then concerning the crusade and the Latin Empire. Ibid., pp 46-48, no. 131.
[894] See Christoph T Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), passim, especially 16-17, 20-22, 34, 39-52.
[895] See pp 235-37 above.
[896] Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, p. 49, nos. 136-37.
[897] Urban IV mentioned this arrangement: "dictus dux Venetorum omnes crucesignatos hujusmodi suo potenti navali stolio illuc deferri faciet sine naulo." Ibid., p. 47, no. 131. See also Ibid., p. 48, no. 132.
[898] Ibid., p. 49, no. 135.
[899] See pp 293-94 above for Philippe at Beauvais.

daughter to Louis IX's heir, promised never to support Manfred, whose daughter had married James's son.[900] It is not hard to imagine these three men, the son and brothers-in-law of the emperor, speaking to the king and his court about the fall of Constantinople and urging their support for the Franks. In the fall of 1262, Baudouin II joined them in Paris.

Baudouin II, accompanied by representatives of the Venetian doge, cast his net wide in search of aid.[901] Having already visited Manfred, Urban IV, and Louis IX, he was in Spain in the spring of 1263, where he was found in the company of Alfonso X of Castile and the king of Aragon.[902] The embassy to Castile apparently did not result in any aid, although Alfonso X made various promises.[903] Presumably, the king and emperor discussed the proposed marriage between Philippe and Alfonso X's daughter. The pope eventually denied permission for the marriage, probably in line with Castilian desires, but in 1263 the marriage was still a possibility. The eldest of Alfonso X's daughters, Berengaria, would only have been ten years old and thus too young for the marriage to go forward.

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[900] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, IV: 42, no. 4775.

[901] Venetian support is promised in Urban IV's letters calling for the crusade. It also appears in Canale. Canale, ch CXCII, 502: "Me l'autre part, veul ie que vos sachies, que lors quant Mesire Rainer Gen, li haut Dus de Venise, ot receus les letres de l'Enpereor de Coustantinople, il manda ces mesaies a l'Apostoille … et quant li II mesages de Monsignor li Dus furent devant l'Apostoille aveuc li Enpereor, il saluerent Monsignor l'Apostoille de par Monsignor li Dus; et puis distrent, que se li Empereor de Coustantinople vodra aler au recovrer l'enpire, que Monsignor li Dus li donera la navie, et a tos ciaus que vodront passer en Romanie por recovrer Coustantinople; et se sera a la despense de Venise. Et Monsignor l'Apostoille I promist la cruis et la solucion a tos ciaus que donera li secors."

[902] In Baudouin II's own letter: "cum nos redeuntes de Hispania ad partes Franciae venissemus." Martène, *Thesaurus,* n. XI, col 24. Three Venetian sources related the visit to Castile, Canale, Dandolo, and Sanudo, although the last only mentioned the Venetian representative, not Baudouin II. Canale, 502. Dandolo, 311. Wolff, "Fragmentum," 152.

[903] Canale, ch. CXCIII, 502: "D'ileuc s'en alerent au Roi de Castele, et il leur promist de doner chevaliers a plante. Saches, signors, que aces li fu promis et petit atendu. Il ne trova se paroles non." Wolff, "Fragmentum," p. 152: "Et inter alios ad regem Castelle predictum. Ambasciator vero fuit dominus Marcus Justinianus Sancti Pantaleonis vir probissimus, ibi in Castella diu morando, set non habuit complementum." See also Dandulus, "Chronica per extensum aa. 46–1280 d.c.," p. 311.

Wolff explained the lack of aid from Alfonso X as a reaction to Baudouin II's close relationship with Manfred. The Castilian king's claim on the Western imperial title had put him at odds with the Hohenstaufen heir.[904] Alfonso X had also allied with the Genoese, long-standing rivals of the Venetians' and recent allies of Palaiologos's.[905] Wolff thought it necessary to explain how the Courtenay could pursue alliances with Manfred and Alfonso X simultaneously and suggested "that the Castilian marriage alliance was Marie's policy rather than Baldwin II's … while the policy of friendship with and dependence upon Manfred was Baldwin II's rather than Marie's."[906] Yet, there is no reason to divide the Courtenay in this way. In fact, Baudouin II's presence in Castile makes his support for this alliance probable. The couple had long misread Western opinion. Baudouin II's attempts to make peace between Frederick II and Innocent IV in 1244–1245 provide the simplest parallel to his simultaneous pursuit of alliances with Manfred, the papacy, and the French and Castilian kings. But his arrival in England without warning in the late 1230s, his hope to convince Blanche to send a French noblewoman to marry the sultan, and his various attempts to alienate his Western lands also reveal his lack of understanding of Western society and customs.

Baudouin II's visit to Spain did result in assistance from the king of Aragon, James I, known from three Aragonese documents discussed by Wolff. In these documents (two unpublished), James I acknowledged several debts. He borrowed seven hundred and sixteen *solidi* to support himself and Baudouin II, one thousand *solidi* solely for the Latin emperor's expenses, and a third sum of seven hundred and

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[904] See Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 70, inc ftnt 60.
[905] Ibid., p. 71
[906] Ibid., p. 73

sixty *solidi* for an unknown purpose, possibly to assist Baudouin II.[907] The sums were not large, but they demonstrate that Baudouin II was in Aragon in April and May of 1263 and that he was receiving funds to cover his expenses. There is no indication, at least in the portion of the sources available to me, that James I intended this money for the crusade. Rather, they appear to have supported Baudouin II himself.

Urban IV expanded his efforts on behalf of the Latin Empire in the winter and spring of 1263. In letters to the archbishops of Berry, Reims, and Sens, all in France of course, he lamented the loss of the Latin Empire and asked them to encourage people to come to its aid.[908] He accused the archbishop of Berry of being unconcerned about the state of the Latin Empire because of his delinquency in forwarding the subsidy.[909] He also reached out to the clerics of the Morea, Athens, and Negropont and instructed them to aid Guillaume de Villehardouin and the Franks against the Greeks.[910] His intervention took other forms as well; in January and May, he sent strongly worded missives to the Genoese, ordering them to desist from their alliance with Palaiologos.[911]

To the Franciscan minister provincial, Urban IV was expansive about his emotions at the loss of Constantinople: "What great grief it conceived! How many sighs it brought forth! What bitter tears the Roman mother church shed, when it heard that it had lost the aforementioned city, which shone out loftily, while it remained in

[907] Ibid., p. 72, inc ftnt 63.
[908] Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, pp 74-77, nos. 187-89.
[909] Ibid., p. 74, no. 187: "in ejusdem imperii occupatione percussi et lesi graviter non doletis."
[910] Ibid., p. 103, nos. 231-32.
[911] Ibid., pp 72-73, 98-101, nos. 182, 228. The second letter expressed well Urban IV's frustration with the Genoese: "Post frequentes ammonitiones quibus apud vos et per litteras et per nuntios institumus, ut a confederatione Paleologi scismatici totaliter recedentes, ad sinum matris ecclesie a quo, vestris culpis exigentibus, excidistis, humiliter rediretis, demum ardentiori studio vobis mandavimus."

unity in her bosom."[912] He spoke elsewhere of his concern for "the needs of the empire of Constantinople" and his intention, through these letters, to provide for those needs.[913] The loss of Constantinople was particularly lamented because of the blow it dealt to the hope of a unified church. Constantinople was a limb that had been severed from its body, a division that injured the whole church.[914] The pope's language reflected this renewed and heightened emotion. Although Alexander IV wrote "carissimo in Christo filio T(heodoro) imperatori Grecorum illustri," in June 1262 Urban IV spoke of "Paleologus namque schismaticus, qui Grecorum imperatorem vocari se facit."[915]

In early 1263, then, Urban IV seemed devoted to the cause of the Latin Empire and consumed with grief on its behalf. His letter to Palaiologos that summer, however, struck a wholly different tone.[916] The Byzantine emperor had sent messengers to the pope, whom the latter had received "with enormous joy and exulation and befitting honor."[917] Palaiologos had, in his letters, objected to the excommunication of the Genoese and the papal insistence that they withdraw from association with the Byzantines. He also complained about the behavior of the Franks, injurious to the

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[912] Ibid., pp 46-48, no. 131: "O quantos concepit dolores! O quot suspiria protulit! O quam acerbas effudit lacrimas Romana mater ecclesia, cum audivit quod predictam civitatem, que in ejus permanens unitate in suo gremio altius relucebat, amisit!"
[913] Ibid., pp 48-49, no. 134, 135: "necessitatibus Constantinopolitani Imperii cupientes." The phrasing is different in other letters, but the point the same. Ibid., pp 48-49, no. 133, 136-37.
[914] See, for example, his letter to the Genoese in October 1263: "corpus generalis ecclesie membro nobilisimo, Imperio videlicet Constantinopolitano, totaliter mutilabitur." Ibid., pp 343, no. 720.
[915] Schillman, "Zur Byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV," 121. Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, p. 46, no. 131.
[916] Geanakoplos has ably and exhaustively reviewed the history of communications between Palaiologos and the papacy in this period. My focus here will be on what is revealed about the pope's priorities and the hopes of the Latin Emperor. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*.
[917] Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, pp 48-49, no. 134, 135: "cum ingenti gaudio et exultatione ac honorificentia condigne recepimus." As a side note, these envoys carried letters written in Greek which the papacy had translated into Latin: "quas de greco transferri fecimus in latinum." Ibid., p. 135, no. 295

Christian people in Greek lands and to religious places themselves.[918] Despite these matters, Palaiologos expressed his desire to resolve quickly the issues between the Greek and Latin churches and to achieve peace with Rome. In his response, Urban IV sought to persuade the Byzantine emperor to return the Greeks to unity with Rome. Here, far from a schismatic, self-titled emperor, Palaiologos was "imperator Grecorum."[919] The theme of unity overwhelms the letter, with repeated references to concord and peace.[920]

Urban IV's observations about the desirability of peace and his hope for unity were interspersed with more specific comments, relating to recent events. Urban IV described the practical benefits for kings and princes of obedience to Rome. The church acted as an arbiter of secular disputes, whether they were between rulers or between a ruler and rebellious vassals.[921] In addition to papal help, if the Byzantines returned to unity with the Roman church, they would merit "not only the aid of the Genoese, whose friendship you complain we want to remove from you, and the power of the other devoted Latins, yet truly, if it were useful, men of all orthodox kings and princes of the world." The pope promised to "strive to bring about and attend to an indissolvable alliance of love and peace between you and them, to the praise and glory

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[918] Ibid.: "Descripsisti insuper multa mala que contigerunt populo christiano a tempore quo Latine gentes Grecorum terram, ut tuis verbis utamur, velut sortem propriam acceperunt, imponens Latinis eisdem templorum conculcationes et exterminia divinorum et quamplura alia que in sacris illarum partium edibus per eos asseris attempta, que quidem, quoniam facta sunt et preterierunt, et quod factum est pro infecto haberi non potest, in eisdem litteris videbaris appetere ut hinc inde inimicitie dissolverentur, abicerentur scandala et omne removeretur obstaculum, ad quod pedes suos possent offendere christiani."
[919] Ibid.
[920] Ibid.: "zelans pacis et concordie bonum", "pace premissa prehabitaque inter Latinos et Grecos concordia", "homines videlicet pacis et pacificos Christi discipulos"—all in the first page of Guiraud's edition.
[921] Ibid.: "Reges quoque catholici, cum inter ipsos aliquid dissensionis emergit vel cum vassalli eorum presumunt contra eos calcaneum rebellionis erigere, mox habent ad portum ecclesie predicte recursum, ejusque salubre consilium et auxilium implorantes tranquillitatis et pacis remedia infallibiliter ab ipsa recipiunt, per que et inter discordes et turbatos eorum animos serena concordia et concors serenitas reformatur, sedantur seditiones a subditis concitate et litigantium clamores queruli conticescunt."

of the divine name and the help of the Christian religion."[922] As long as the Greek church remained disobedient to Rome, however, the pope had no choice but to urge and compel Christian powers to avoid alliances with the Byzantines.

The implication here is unavoidable. The pope had spent the previous year encouraging Western powers to support Baudouin II and authorizing the preaching of a crusade to gather aid. Yet, in the summer of 1263, Urban IV as much as promised Palaiologos that if the Greek church entered into union with Rome, the papacy would call off the crusade and, in fact, encourage European leaders to enter into alliances with the Byzantines. Only once in the letter did Urban IV mention Constantinople or the Latin Empire, and that was simply to note that Palaiologos had sent his envoys "immediately after the city of Constantinople had been captured."[923] No moral judgment was laid on the capture of the city; it simply marked time. The concern for the Franks, when it came, was for those still in the East. In keeping with his letters to the Genoese and the ones to spur the collection of funds, the pope spoke of the terrible situation of Guillaume de Villehardouin and the Franks remaining in Greece and the Aegean islands.[924] The possibility of restoration was never raised. This letter, from a pope who a year earlier lamented the loss of Constantinople, shows a remarkable shift.

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[922] Ibid., p. 138, no. 295: "Quia, si te in consilia meliora retuleris et ad eandem ecclesiam in spiritus humilitate redieris, non solum auxilium Januensium, quorum amicitiam nos tibi subtrahere velle conquereris, et aliorum fidelium Latinorum potentiam, verum etiam, si oportunum fuerit, vires omnium orthodoxorum regum et principum orbis terre in tuum tuique solii fulcimentum conflare ac procurare studebimus inter te et ipsos indissolubilis federa dilectionis et pacis, ad lauem et gloriam divinie nominis et christiane religionis augmentum."

[923] Ibid., p. 135, no. 295: "statim capta Constantinopolitana urbe."

[924] Ibid., p. 136, no. 295: "Infesti quoque rumores, que ad audientiam nostram medio tempore pervenerunt, de persecutionibus, vexationibus, molestiis et pressuris que nobili viro Guillelmo de Villarduino, principi Achaye devotissimo utique dicte matris ecclesie filio, ejusque terris et insulis ac Latinis morantibus in eisdem, per tui vires Imperii jugiter inferuntur."

Baudouin II's close relationship with Manfred may have prompted Urban IV's positive response to Palaiologos. When Baudouin II arrived at the papal curia in early 1262, he told Urban IV of Manfred's offer, but the pope was noncommital.[925] This first appeal was not enough to dissuade Urban IV from supporting the Latin emperor, as the events of 1262 and early 1263 demonstrated, but the ongoing relationship between the Hohenstaufen and the Latin emperor eventually alienated the latter from the papacy. In late July of 1263, Urban IV forwarded a letter to his notary, Albert, instructing him to share it with Charles d'Anjou and, if it seemed helpful, Louis IX. The letter, which had been intercepted and handed over to the pope, was from Baudouin II to Manfred and showed the author's support for his correspondent.[926] The timing was spectacular: That same month, Charles d'Anjou officially became the papacy's choice to rule Sicily and accepted the mantle.

Baudouin II's letter also survives. In it, he warned Manfred that Urban IV had written to the king of France and told him that Manfred "did not have the desire or disposition to make peace" and was "fraudulently" engaged in discussions with the papacy.[927] Baudouin II believed that the relationship between Manfred and Louis IX could be redeemed, however, and urged his correspondent to send an embassy to Baudouin II and the duke of Burgundy with letters directed to Louis IX and Marguerite

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[925] Canale, "Cronicon," p. 500, ch CXCI: "et Mesire li Enperere li dist dou grant henor que li Rois Manfrois li fist, et coment il l'avoit aaise de tot se que apartient a Enpereor a avoir: et puis li dist tot ensi com vos aves oi sa en ariere que li Rois li mandoit, et mult l'en proia que il le fist ensi. Saches, signors, que Monsignore l'Apostoille ne respondi a ces paroles ne si ne quoi."

[926] Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, II: 23, no. 10: "dilectum filium nobilem virum Carolum Andegaviae ac Provinciae comitem reddas sollicitum et attentum, ut sibi et negotiis suis a praedicto imperatore, cum fautor praedicti Manfredi per ea quae in praemissis continenter litteris videatur, penitus studeat praecavere."

[927] Ibid., II: 23, no. 11: "Mandaverunt etiam quod nec voluntatem habebatis quod pax fieret, nec affectum: et quicquid super tractatu praedicto videbamini facere, faciebatis fraudulenter."

of Provence, the queen.[928] The envoy should be ready to speak of Manfred's desire for peace and harmony with the papacy and to explain the cause of the breakdown in discussions.[929]

The letter shows that, far from being a bystander, Baudouin II insisted on involving himself in European politics. He was intimately aware of the contents of the papal correspondence to the Capetians, he had made an ally of the duke of Burgundy, and he believed he could act as a mediator between Louis IX and the Hohenstaufen. He had already attempted the last, of course, in the mid-1240s before the Council of Lyon, and he had failed to secure a peace. This had not dissuaded him; in fact, it might have convinced him of the possibility. Baudouin II was very clear to Manfred that it would be best if the envoy arrived while he was still in Paris, and that he should be sent, "directly" and "secretly," to Baudouin II and the duke of Burgundy so they could mediate with the French king.[930] The Latin emperor clearly still had confidence in his relationship with the Capetians and his ability to persuade them to his point of view.

Baudouin II's close relationship with Manfred, begun in the fall of 1261 in southern Italy, had continued and been strengthened as the Latin emperor sought aid in the West. Manfred's pledge, to finance Baudouin II's return to Constantinople and

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[928] Ibid., II: 24, no. XI: "vos ad partes istas Franciae aliquem nuntium, qui secum deferat litteras vestras credentiae, transmittatis, qui ad nos et ducem Burgundiae directe veniat, et a vobis habeat in praeceptis quod dicat et faciat illud, quod nos et dictus dux sibi, prout Dominus Deus nobis ministraverit, consulemus ipsi Domino Regi Franciae enarrare: et etiam dictus nuntius alias litteras credentiae deferat ipsi domino Regi Franciae et Reginae, per quas litteras vestras et nuntium ipsum innocentiam vestram melius quam poteritis excuseris, ac ipsam rei veritatem declaretis, et in quo remansit concordia, nisi vos culpabiles esse noveritis, quod nullatenus crederemus."

[929] This language is present throughout the letter, for example: "Talem etiam nuncium mittat vestra serenitas, qui omnia sibi a vobis sciat narrare et exponere, et in quo et propter quod est dicta concordia annullata." Ibid., II: 25, no. XI.

[930] Ibid.: "et si ad partes praedictas Franciae nuntium vestrum miseritis, dum sumus in illis partibus, nos pro vobis ibidem locum obtinere poterimus, et pro vobis efficaciter assistemus … etiam ad ipsum ducem Burgundiae directe veniat." Earlier and later in the letter Baudouin II described the envoy's arrival as "secretius."

even accompany the army himself, along with the gifts and grants he had already given the exiled Franks, made him a promising ally. Yet, as long as he was consumed with his conflict with the papacy, he could not extend aid to the Franks. By the summer of 1263, Baudouin II thought that the best strategy was to engage Louis IX's sympathy and support for the Hohenstaufen. He had his own best interests at heart, telling Manfred that benefit would accrue not merely to the Hohenstaufen cause, but to the whole of Christianity.[931] At the end of the letter he mentioned the Latin Empire briefly, requesting Manfred's aid and expressing his trust in him.[932] The Latin emperor continued his close relationship with Manfred until the latter's defeat and death in the winter of 1266 at the hands of Charles d'Anjou.[933] Although there is no overt link between Urban IV's realization of Baudouin II's closeness with Manfred and his sudden openness to Palaiologos's overtures and his withdrawal from support for the Latin Empire, there can be little doubt that they were related.

In the summer of 1263, Urban IV's letter to Palaiologos signaled his priorities—to bolster the Franks of the Morea and other Aegean possessions—and his willingness, despite his earlier expressed emotions, to abandon Baudouin II and the Latin Empire. In his correspondence, the pope referred repeatedly to the other Frankish states in the Aegean, specifically the Morea and Negropont, the "residui ejusdem imperii," which were at risk of being overrun and desperately needed help.[934] When ordering the Genoese to withdraw from their alliance with Palaiologos, he singled out their fleets

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[931] Ibid.: "quae vobis et toti christianitati melior et utilior esse possit."
[932] Ibid., II: 26, no. XI: "Ceterùm vestram celsitudinem requirimus et rogamus, de qua plenam fiduciam gerimus, quatenus negotia nostra et imperii Romani habentes propensius commendata, consilium vestrum et auxilium in his sicut plenè de vestra benignitate confidimus apponatis."
[933] This is known from a letter from Clement IV to Baudouin II in 1266. See below. Ibid., II: 354-55, no. CCCXII.
[934] See, for example, Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, pp 46-48, 102-3, nos. 131, 231-32.

near Negropont for immediate removal.[935] In October 1263, perhaps to follow Baudouin II's visit of the previous spring, he sent Garinus, a deacon from Catalonia, to Castile and Leon to encourage the prelates there to come to the aid of the Franks.[936] The letter opened with a commentary on the grief and sadness caused by the fall of Constantinople and the exile of the Franks from Constantinople. Yet, despite this moving beginning, Urban IV's focus was on "aid to conserve those remaining in this empire" and not on encouraging support for the recapture of the city.[937]

Like Innocent IV and Alexander IV before him and Clement IV after him, Urban IV was lured away from providing for the Latin Empire by the prospect of church union through negotiation, although it did not wholly extinguish the possibility. In seeking to bring Constantinople back into the Roman church, the papacy fluctuated: Efforts toward agreement with the Greeks were countered with measures against them. Even after his letter to Palaiologos, he continued to urge the Genoese away from their alliance with Byzantium and toward peace with Venice, fulfilling his promise that he could not support an alliance with those disobedient to Rome.[938] The popes from Innocent IV on sought two things persistently, which directed their policy toward the Latin Empire: the defeat of the Hohenstaufen and the return of Constantinople to obedience to the Roman church, either through conquest or through union. The return of the Franks to Constantinople was only a secondary goal.

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[935] Ibid., pp 342-43, no. 720: "de terris et insulis predictorum principis, vassallorum atque fidelium et specialiter de insula Nigripontensi penitus revocarent." For an account of the struggle in the Morea and Negropont during this period see Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, pp 150-65.
[936] Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, pp 351-53, nos. 740-41.
[937] Ibid., p. 352. no. 740: "eorum saltem ad conservandas ejusdem imperii reliquias implorare auxilium curaremus."
[938] See pp 316-19 above. Ibid., pp 341-43, nos. 719-21.

In the spring of 1264, Urban IV was engaged in raising support for Charles d'Anjou's planned invasion of Sicily. He mentioned the Latin Empire with the Holy Land as causes to be aided by the conquest of Sicily and the defeat of Manfred.[939] In the early months of 1264, he supplied aid to Guillaume de Villehardouin.[940] In May of 1264, having received many communications from prelates, princes, and barons detailing Byzantine attacks on and sieges of Frankish possessions, he called for the use of indulgences and crusading privileges to summon support for these threatened states, a call that survives in three letters. Two letters to clerics focused on the Greeks in the Aegean. He encouraged the bishop of Koroni to urge the faithful in Greece to defend the land vigorously and offered indulgences to those who remained there.[941] The letter to the bishop of Maastricht commenced with a reference to his desire for the recovery of Constantinople, but focused, not on retaking the city, but on defending the principality of Achaia.[942] The loss of Constantinople featured less as a reason for any expedition and more as background for the current, urgent threat. If help did not arrive, the loyal Christians in the region, already worn down by the attacks, would be further diminished. Urban IV hammered home the danger that the Franks faced; the Greeks (once again schismatics) were "plunderers [who] … pursue the principality with

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[939] See, for example, letters to clerics in France, Flanders and Provence and to the papal legate. Ibid., pp 390-93, 398, nos. 804, 813. Clement IV continued this theme: "cum promotio negotii terre sancte et Constantinopolitani imperii a negotio regni Sicilie pro majori parte dependere noscatur." Édouard Jordan, *Registres d'Clément IV*, Registres des papes 11 (Paris: Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1899), p. 59, no. 216. See also Ibid., pp 318-19, no. 817.

[940] Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, p. 172.

[941] Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, p. 293, no. 578.

[942] Ibid., pp 292-93, no. 577: "tantumque jam inibi diminuerunt numerum fidelium populorum et tantum eos, qui residui sunt, predictis et aliis diversis afflictionibus attriverunt, quod vix aliqua superest fiducia seu spes, ut iidem, absque aliorum fidelium Christi succursu, diu valeant persequentium manus effugere, et terram illam vero Christi cultui conservare, prout hactenus per litteras prelatorum, principum et baronum illarum partium ac speciales nuntios ad apostolicam sedem exinde transmissos, nobis innotuit evidenter."

incessant insults, with what harsh sieges they choked the towns and cities."[943] They were contrasted to the "devoted sons of the church," and "loyal people." It was not just the Christian people at risk, however; the very land itself would be lost to the Christian faith if action was not taken. The papacy's understanding of *Christianitas* as "a territorial unit to be defended and enlarged, under the leadership of the pope" meant that the loss of territory to the Byzantines was of equal, if not greater, concern to the danger to the people who lived there.[944] This understanding, however, also meant that the recovery of Constantinople could happen through church union, which would return the city to *Christianitas,* and which did not necessitate the return of the Franks to the city.

Urban IV's third letter was an appeal to Hugues IV, the duke of Burgundy, asking that he take up the cross himself.[945] Hugues IV was a likely candidate for many resaons. He was a confidant of Baudouin's II in 1263, as the latter attempted to negotiate peace between Manfred and Louis IX. Although we are not privy to conversations between the duke and the Latin emperor, there were ample opportunities and reasons for them to discuss a crusade during that period. Hugues IV had already participated in two expeditions to the East: the Barons' Crusade in 1239 and Louis IX's Crusade a decade later. In 1249, on his way to join the crusading force in Cyprus, he

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[943] Ibid.: "Sane Greci scismatici, ex captione Constantinopolitane civitatis elati vento superbie et ad impugnandum plus solito fideles illarum partium, vicinitatis oportunitate paratiores effecti, ad terram principatus Achaye depopulatrices manus extendunt, et ut ibidem in devotis ecclesie filiis extinguant penitus nomen matris, quamlibet partem principatus ejusdem continuis persecuntur insultibus, quamduris obsidionibus ilius municipia et civitates angustant, et ibidem irremediabiliter omnem terre faciem cunctis ad usum generis humani mascentibus ex ipsa, denudant; tantumque jam inibi diminuerunt numerum fidelium populorum et tantum eos, qui residui sunt, predictis et aliis diversis afflictionibus attriverunt, quod vix aliqua superest fiducia seu spes, ut iidem, absque aliorum fidelium Christi succursu, diu valeant persequentium manus effugere, et terram illam vero Christi cultui conservare, prout hactenus per litteras prelatorum, principum et baronum illarum partium ac speciales nuntios ad apostolicam sedem exinde transmissos, nobis innotuit evidenter."
[944] Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims, and "Pagans" in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000– c. 1300*, p. 43.
[945] Guiraud, *Registres d'Urbain IV*, pp 293-94, no. 579.

and a number of other nobles stopped in the Morea and visited with Guillaume de Villehardouin, who then sailed with the duke to Cyprus.[946] Other ties connected Burgundy to the Morea. Athens was ruled by the la Roche family, who came from Burgundy, and other Burgundians were involved in the Frankish stat[947]es.[948] Despite the many years that separated the Franks from their homelands, in the 1260s connections remained, renewed by Hugues IV's stop in the Morea in 1249. In 1260, Guy de la Roche, the lord of Athens, borrowed funds from Hugues IV, presumably to fund his journey back to Greece.[949] In Paris in January of 1266, Baudouin II and Hugues IV settled the terms of their agreement. In exchange for Hugh IV's promise of aid for the Latin Empire, Baudouin II committed to pay him thirteen thousand livres tournois and granted him the kingdom of Thessaloniki and several other territories.[950] Baudouin II's optimism about fund-raising was unfounded. He had gained the promise of twenty thousand livres parisis from the sale of Namur to Guy of Flanders three years earlier, but the debt was not fully paid in 1268.[951] Papal efforts at fund-raising, as discussed above, ran into problems and some of the funds had already been forwarded to the Morea in early 1264. Baudouin II and Marie were racking up debts in Spain and

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[946] Wolff and Hazard, *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, 2: 244-45. Joinville noted the joint arrival of the duke and the prince. Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, p. 72, ch 148: "Le roy et nous qui estions avec li demourez, si comme Dieu voult, feismes voille de rechief et encontrames le prince de la Moree et le duc Bourgoingne, qui avoit sejourné en la Moree."
[947] Sanudo, "Istoria del regno di Romania," p. 118
[948] The La Roche appear throughout Ernest Petit's volumes on the dukes of Burgundy. For example: Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, III: 454-55, 481, nos. 1336, 1341, 1450, IV: 218, 240, 261, nos. 1804, 1922, 2040, V: 395, nos. 2700-1.
[949] Ibid., V: 185, nos. 3158-59.
[950] Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs française jusqu'à la conquête des turcs*, I: 158, no. XXVI.
[951] Galliot, *Histoire générale*, VI: 31-32; Reiffenberg, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, I: 158, no. XXVI.

France, which they had to use their Western lands to repay.[952] It is possible that the grant of Thessaloniki and other territories was intended to compensate for Baudouin II's inevitable default on his promise, but the charters do not mention any such transaction.

Soon after Baudouin II's grants to Hugues IV, the Battle of Benevento brought to an end the Latin emperor's split allegiances.[953] Baudouin II wrote quickly to the pope, professing his joy at Charles d'Anjou's victory. Clement IV had received the communication by mid-June, when he replied to Baudouin II, voicing his conditional satisfaction "if you, as you assert, delight on account of God and in God" in the outcome at Benevento.[954] That spring, Clement IV had already denied a dispensation for the marriage between Philippe de Courtenay and the daughter of Alfonso X, citing their kinship. Wolff rightly noted that this denial came before the reconciliation between the pope and the Latin emperor and might have, in fact, been in response to Alfonso X's desire not to go through with the alliance.[955]

Despite the pope's skepticism, the alliance between Baudouin II and Charles d'Anjou proceeded. In October of 1266, the Sicilian monarch wrote to his ally, cousin, and banker, Enrique of Castile, about a possible marriage between the latter and an unnamed woman, revealed in other correspondence to be Helen of Epiros, Manfred's widow whose dowry consisted of towns along the Adriatic coast. According to the

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[952] See pp 314-15 above for Aragonese loans to Baudouin and pp 339-40 below for the funds owed by Marie.
[953] It is of interest to note that Muslim, Cuman, and Greek troops apparently made up part of Manfred's army. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, p. 189.
[954] Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, II: 254-55: "Commune gaudium Deum amantium si te, ut asseris, propter Deum et in Deo laetificat, reddit te commendabilem in hac parte, quamvis olim notatus fueris, quod cum hoste pestifero M. nun prostrato foedus contraxeras amicitae, nec Deo, nec hominibus gratiosum."
[955] Clement IV's letter speaks of the alliance as "nec tibi etiam expedire." Ibid., II: 303, no. 258. See Wolff's discussion Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," pp 69-71.

letter, Charles d'Anjou supported the connection and believed that the prospective bride did as well but wanted the permission of her father, Michael II Doukas, whose friendship was part of the appeal of the marriage. Charles d'Anjou referred in the letter to his consultations with "our dear relative B. the illustrious Emperor of Constantinople."[956] Whether these consultations were in person or through letters is unknown, but less than a year after Benevento the two men were already discussing affairs in the East and the best way to gain an advantage there.

That Charles d'Anjou intended the marriage to aid the recapture of Constantinople is confirmed by papal letters. In January of 1267, Clement IV wrote to him and to Enrique of Castile encouraging the marriage since "if this marriage were accomplished it would be of the greatest benefit to our dearest son in Christ the illustrious Emperor of Constantinople and to our beloved child his noble son and to the Roman Church and the whole race of Christians."[957] In early 1267, however, Clement IV was still hedging his bets. While encouraging a union between Helen and Enrique, he was also engaged in negotiations for union with Palaiologos, who had restarted the exchange of embassies in the spring of 1266. Emboldened, probably, by the Angevin victory and the growing possibility of a Western allied attack on Constantinople, Clement IV took a tougher stance than his predecessor had—rejecting the idea of a

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[956] Guiseppe Del Guidice, ed., *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo I. E Il. d'Angio* (Napoli: Stamperia della R. Universita, 1863), I: 193, no. 56. Riccardo Filangieri, ed., *I registri della Cancelleria angioina* (Napoli: L'Accademia, 1950), I: 29, no. 15.

[957] Translation adapted from Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," p. 77. Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, II: 437-38, no. 422: "Quia vero hujusmodi matrimonium si consummatum fuerit, carissimo in Christo filio nostro imperatori Constantinopolitano illustri et dilecto filio viro nobili nato ejus, Ecclesiae Romanae ac toti populo christiano plurimum credimus fructuosum." Similar language is in the letter to Enrique. Ibid., II: 438, no. 423.

council, demanding the acceptance of the confession of faith, and insisting on union as the only way to protect Byzantine lands from Western attack.[958]

At Viterbo in May of 1267, Clement IV put his imprimatur on Western plans to retake Constantinople. Two treaties tied Charles d'Anjou to the Franks in the Aegean. The first treaty was with Guillaume de Villehardouin and concerned the principality of the Morea. It arranged a marriage between Isabelle, the daughter of Guillaume de Villehardouin, and Philippe d'Anjou, Charles's son. Guillaume was to retain his principality as long as he lived, with restrictions on alienation, and the Angevins were to inherit it. If Philippe died without children, the territory would pass to Charles d'Anjou and his heirs. At the time of the treaty, Guillaume de Villehardouin did not have any sons, but if he had a son subsequent to the treaty he could grant him one-fifth of the Morea and the Greek territories that Baudouin II had given him. The rest of his territory would still pass to the Angevins. Baudouin II was present at the signing of the treaty and gave his consent.[959]

Guillaume de Villehardouin had already considered one marriage to preserve his kingdom and arrange for its future. The prior suitor was Palaiologos, who proposed a marriage between his oldest son, Andronikos, and Isabelle in 1264, when the conflict in the Morea was at a peak. As with the eventual treaty with Charles d'Anjou, the proposed agreement provided that the Morea would remain in Guilluime de Villehardouin's control during his lifetime but pass to Andronikos as Isabelle's dowry after his death. According to Sanudo, the barons rejected the proposed alliance. The prospect of marrying a Greek was familiar to the Villehardouin and the barons;

[958] See the analysis of Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, pp 200-5.
[959] Jean Longnon, "Le rattachement de la principauté de Morée au royaume de Sicile en 1267," *JS* (1942): 136-37.

Guillaume de Villehardouin's third marriage was to Michael II Doukas's daughter, confirming the alliance that then collapsed at Pelagonia. Palaiologos's proximity, however, and the danger that he had already posed to the continued existence of the Frankish states made him a risk the barons were unwilling to accept.[960] The Angevin alliance was less of a threat to the Franks, although in the end, of course, the barons felt beseiged by Angevin rule as well.[961]

Three days later a second treaty was signed.[962] The document outlined a plan to recover the city and other Byzantine territory. Charles d'Anjou promised to supply two thousand cavalry within six (or seven) years to aid in the recovery of Constantinople. They would serve for a year, excluding travel time. In return, he received significant territorial commitments. First of all, his suzerainty over the Morea, already granted in the prior treaty, was confirmed by Baudouin II. His possession of Helen of Epiros's dowry, which Manfred had held, was made official, and he agreed to be Baudouin II's vassal for those territories. He received rights to the islands in the Aegean, excepting Mytile, Samos, Kos, and Chios. Future conquests were to be divided, one-third to Charles d'Anjou and two-thirds to Baudouin II, whose portion included Constantinople. Charles d'Anjou could pick which territories he wanted, including Epiros, Albania, and Serbia. His selection could even include Thessaloniki, if those who had a claim to it, i.e. the duke of Burgundy, did not abide by their commitments. The inclusion of Thessaloniki raised the possibility that Charles d'Anjou would gain another royal title.

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[960] See Sanudo, "Istoria del regno di Romania," p. 118: "mà li Baroni Latini non assentirono e non seguì deto Concordio." Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, pp 172-75 and Longnon, "Le rattachement de la principauté de Morée au royaume de Sicile en 1267," p. 135.
[961] Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp 242-49.
[962] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 222-24, no. 5284.

The agreement then addressed the inheritance of the throne of Constantinople. If Baudouin II and Philippe died without direct heirs, "the mentioned empire with all its honors, dignities, demesne, fiefs, jurisdictions, rights and appurtenances would devolve wholly to us and our heirs in the kingdom of Sicily."[963] The likelihood of Baudouin II having another child was small, since his wife Marie was over forty. Any heir of Philippe's would, hopefully, also be a descendant of Charles d'Anjou since the next provision of the treaty arranged the marriage between the imperial heir and Béatrice, to happen as soon as the latter was of age. A dispensation from the pope to allow the marriage and the consent of both mothers was obtained to forestall subsequent objections.[964]

Was the Treaty of Viterbo a benefit to the Latin Empire? Put differently, did Baudouin II strike a good deal with Charles d'Anjou? Geanakoplos has argued that "for a bare promise of aid to Baldwin, Charles would secure immediate, tangible results," specifically recognition of his suzerainty over the Morea and his claim to Helen of Epiros's dowry in the Balkans.[965] The treaty combined these immediate benefits to Charles d'Anjou with the promise of future territory if he aided the recapture of the Latin Empire. The time frame for the expedition to Constantinople, six to seven years, allowed him to consolidate control over his newly conquered lands and establish himself in Sicily, the Morea, and the Balkans. Yet, as Geanakoplos also recognized, Charles d'Anjou did not become emperor of Constantinople, nor, according to the terms

[963] Ibid.: "si vos et Philippum karissimum filium vestrum, seu alios a vobis et eodem Philippo per rectam lineam descendentes, absque justo et legitimo herede de proprio corpore, quod absit! mori contingat, memoratum imperium cum omnibus honoribus, dignitatibus, demaniis, feudis juridictionibus, juribus et pertinentiis suis ad nos nostrosquein regno Sicilie heredes plenarie devolvatur."
[964] The rights of Venice merited only a sentence at the end: "Preterea actum et conventum est inter vos et nos quod antiquo juri quod Veneti habere dicuntur in terra predicti imperii nullum per premissa vel premissorum aliquod prejudicium generetur." Ibid.
[965] Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, p. 199.

of the agreement, was he ever likely to. Moreover, this treaty was not so different from prior ones that had lured powerful men to help the Latin Empire. Pierre II and Robert received the throne outright. Jean de Brienne, the closest comparision to Charles d'Anjou, had secured the imperial title and control over the Latin Empire during his lifetime. The Angevin king settled for less but was willing to make less of a commitment and had to deal with an adult emperor, Baudouin II, who had held the throne for many years and was committed to holding it. The most probable result of the treaty was the actual outcome: The throne fell to Charles d'Anjou's grandchild, born to Philippe de Courtenay and Béatrice.

In the treaty, Charles d'Anjou explained that his assistance was deemed particularly desirable "because of the power and location of our kingdom."[966] Sicily was clearly a critical part of the deal. Charles d'Anjou repeatedly referred to the agreement as pertaining to "us and our heirs in the kingdom of Sicily," thus ensuring that if his lands were divided after his death, the alliance with the Latin Empire would remain with Sicily.[967] Sicily's location, combined with its grain wealth and status as a trading center, made it uniquely situated as a staging ground for expeditions to East. Baudouin II had already recognized Sicily's useful location in his previous alliance with Manfred, as had Urban IV in promoting Charles d'Anjou's expedition to capture Sicily. With the accompanying claim to territory in the Balkans and the Morea, Charles d'Anjou was better positioned than anyone to launch a joint land and sea attack on Constantinople. Support from the papacy, which had already sponsored his conquest of

[966] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, III: 221, no. 5284: "propter regni nostri potentiam et vicinitatem nobis non solum ad succurrendum eidem imperio, sed et ad occurrendum per recuperationem ejus orthodoxe fidei ac Terre Sancte periculis promptior et efficacior est facultas."
[967] Ibid., III: 222-24, no. 5284: "nos nostrosque in regno Sicilie heredes"

Sicily, and his relationship to the Capetians can only have helped. Moreover, the new king of Sicily had proven his willingness to follow through on acquired claims and his military prowess. In his alliance with Charles d'Anjou, Baudouin II combined his old appeals to family and the papacy with a newfound consideration: strategic location. He deemed Angevin help worth the wait.

With the signing of the Treaty at Viterbo, the fate of the Latin Empire moved into the story of Charles d'Anjou and the union negotiations between the papacy and Palaiologos. The challenge from and defeat of Conradin, the second crusade of Louis IX, the destruction of the Angevin fleet in 1272, the Council of Lyon in 1274, the machinations concerning union, the conflict in Lombardy, and, finally, the Sicilian Vespers governed the possibilities for recapturing Constantinople. Historians differ sharply in measuring Charles d'Anjou's commitment to the recovery of Constantinople. Steven Runciman argued for the king's commitment to Constantinople and focus on recovering the city.[968] Jean Dunbabin, in contrast, located Charles d'Anjou's interest in the Morea, where, after 1267, he had a direct claim and responsibility.[969] Only in 1279, twelve years after the Treaty at Viterbo, when the conditions seemed right did a Sicilian expedition truly take form. Geanakoplos, although not taking as definite a stand, claimed that Charles d'Anjou got the better end of the deal since he obtained immediate rewards in exchange for vague promises. A study of Charles d'Anjou's motivations and intentions is far beyond the scope of this study. Although no major attack was ever launched against Constantinople, however, he committed two of his children, Philippe

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[968] Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: a History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), pp 139, 156-57, 186.
[969] Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998), pp 91-94.

and Béatrice, in marriage in order to create a claim to the Aegean states and to obtain the loyalty of the Franks there. The title to Constantinople remained in the family beyond this generation—Philippe and Béatrice's daughter married Charles d'Anjou's great nephew. Her daughter, in turn, married *his* grandson. This commitment was also demonstrated in his frequent preparations for an expedition to the East, including in 1269–1270.[970]

In 1269, Baudouin II made a further agreement with Thibaut II, king of Navarre and count of Champagne. After many pages of considering Baudouin II's letters, it is no surprise to see him refer to Thibaut II as "karissimi consanguinei nostri domini Th[eobaldi], illustris regis Navarre, Campanie et Brie comitis palatini."[971] Thibaut II fit neatly into the mold of potential supporters. His wife was Louis IX's daughter, and his sister was the wife of Hugues IV of Burgundy, who had signed a treaty with Baudouin II three years before. He also participated in the crusade of 1239. The arrangements are familiar: Thibaut II would get one-fourth of the Latin Empire, a grant that would not prejudice those already made to the king of Sicily and the duke of Burgundy or the rights of the Venetians.[972] Constantinople was excluded.[973] With Hugues IV, Charles d'Anjou, and Thibaut II, Baudouin II followed the same practice: the promise of a portion of the empire outside of Constantinople in return for assistance with reclaiming

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[970] Rámon Muntaner, no friend of Charles d'Anjou, agreed that he sought peace with Aragon because of his desire to launch an expedition against Palaiologos, "who had the Empire of Constantinople against all right; for, surely, the Empire should belong to the sons of the Emperor Baldwin, who were the nephews of King Charles." Translation from Ramón Munanter, *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, trans. Anna Kinsky Goodenough (London: Hakluyt Society, 1920), p. 79, ch XXXVIII. Ramón Muntaner, *Chronik des Edlen en Ramon Muntaner*, ed. Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Lanz (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1844), p. 69, ch XXXVIII: "E aço feya asenyaladament lo rey Carles, com entenia a fer passatge en Romania contra lemperador Paliagolo qui tenia lemperi de Constantinoble contra raho; com per cert dels fills del emperador Baudy deuia esser lemperi, los quals eren nabots del rey Carles."
[971] *Layettes,* no. 5499, 331.
[972] *Layettes,* no. 5499, 331.
[973] *Layettes,* no. 5499, 331: "salva etiam et excepta civitate Constantinopolitana cum omnibus pertinentiis circumquaque per unam dietam."

it. While in Constantinople, he had mortgaged and alienated his Western lands in exhange for aid. Once exiled, he made commitments to relinquish significant territory and rights in the East in exchange for promises of aid. His strategy was eminently reasonable. Before 1261, the Franks were essentially restricted to Constantinople anyway. It had been decades since they had controlled Thessaloniki or significant lands in northern Greece and the Balkans. Baudouin II was giving away land he had never or not recently held. Moreover, if Baudouin II could be restored to Constantinople, he would benefit greatly from having Hugues IV of Burgundy, Charles d'Anjou, and Thibaut II control neighboring territory. They could be a buffer between him and the Greeks of Epiros, act as a deterrent to Greeks in Asia Minor, and, when necessary, contribute to the defense of the city.

A further commitment, also in 1269, came from Alfonso X who as recently as 1266 was a possible in-law for Baudouin II. In negotiations with Charles d'Anjou, the Castilian king agreed to provide two hundred knights, two hundred men-at-arms and one hundred archers for an expedition. Charles d'Anjou was responsible for their expenses.[974] In 1270, discussions between Baudouin II and the illegitimate son of James I of Aragon resulted in an agreement for the latter to provide one hundred soldiers for a year in the Latin Empire in exchange for a certain sum.[975] The arrangement for these forces, explicitly intended to aid Baudouin II and Philippe, were part of a push in 1269–1271 that included Angevin alliances with Genoa, Hungary, and Serbia and appeals to the Venetians and the Mongols.[976] In the case of Hungary, two of

[974] Charles Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni fatti riguardanti Carlo i. di Angiò, dal 1252 al 1270* (Naples, 1874), p. 81.
[975] Ibid., pp 97, 104-5, 110.
[976] Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, pp 213-20.

Charles d'Anjou's children were deployed in marriage alliances. In 1271, Angevin forces captured Durazzo and the Albanians turned to the king of Sicily and, the following year, he became king of Albania as well. Angevin power had well and truly arrived on the far side of the Adriatic.[977] Louis IX's crusade and Charles d'Anjou's appearance at Tunis with his fleet put to rest, at least temporarily, any plans for an attack on Constantinople.

Angevin aid never did help the Courtenay reclaim their land. Charles d'Anjou's ongoing efforts to control Sicily and papal pressure to focus on the possibility of union, along with the occasional bad luck, constantly delayed any major attack, although reinforcements did make it to the Morea at various times. However, even in retrospect, Charles d'Anjou, by dint of his Capetian background, his relationship with the papacy, his newly acquired territory in the Mediteranean, and his adventurous nature, appeared to be the Latin Empire's best hope.

Baudouin II died in 1273. He was the last Western emperor to rule in Constantinople—and the only one of those to have been born and raised in the city. Unlike his uncles, mother, brother, and father-in-law, his entire career centered around the great city. After 1261, he was unwilling to resign himself to life as an exile. Instead, he sought aid and support from his allies—the Capetians, the papacy, the Castilians, and the Aragonese—with the hope of returning to Constantinople.

Settlement in the West

Soon after Baudouin II's arrival in Paris in 1263, he conceded to his son, Philippe, full authority in regard to Namur and other territories in Hainaut, including the authority to sell them or alienate them in some other way, and he sent him there to deal

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[977] Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, pp 89-91.

with it.[978] Marie's alienation of the county to Marguerite, countess of Flanders, in 1258 had apparently not put the issue to rest. On March 19, 1263, Philippe used the authority given to him by his father to sell Namur to Guy, count of Flanders, for twenty thousand livres. Finally, twenty-five years after Baudouin II took possession of the county, after numerous struggles, mortgages, temporary transfers, and financial exploitations, the Courtenay relinquished this territory—exacting one final sum in return, or rather a series of installment payments. It is puzzling that this final alienation occurred not while the Courtenay were in Constantinople, but once they returned to the West, at which point they might actually have been able to govern the territory. Perhaps the events of 1256–1258 had finally made Namur seem more trouble than it was worth. True, Baudouin II's letter also conferred on Philippe the authority to administer and manage the territories, suggesting that the Courtenays had not completely relinquished hope of holding Namur. However, in 1263, desperate for money to fund a recovery of Constantinople, the twenty thousand livres Guy was willing to pay in order to settle the question once and for all was worth far more than was a claim to the land that might never be realized. And so the question, in 1263, was settled. Unlike Baudouin II's transfer of Namur to Louis IX, the sale to Guy was a permanent alienation: "vendidimus dilecto consanuineo nostro nobili viro Guidoni, comiti Flandrie, et heredibus eius in perpetuum."[979] A series of charters from Philippe and Baudouin II confirmed the sale and instructed the *baillis*, *châtelains*, knights, *hommes de fief*, *maires*, *échevins*, et al. to render homage to Guy and obey him.[980]

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978 Baudouin II may have also gone to Hainaut himself. Wolff, "Fragmentum," p. 152: "Inde vero discedens ivit in Franciam ac etiam in Hannoniam, ubi ipse certam terram habebat."
979 Brouwers, *L'administration*, IV, part 1, pp 107-8.
980 Galliot, *Histoire générale*, VI: 12,16-17, 20.

According to Philippe, the sale was done at the advice of Louis IX and "other friends" of his.[981] Baudouin II's charter had the same formulation adding only that Louis IX was "consanguineus nostrus."[982] Did Baudouin II feel closer to his royal relative? Did the relationship seem less important to Philippe? Was it merely an oversight or an insignificant difference in notation? We are left to speculate. But the mention of Louis IX in the charters provides further confirmation of the French king's place in the desires and strategies of the Courtenays. The imperial family, unlike other exiled Franks, returned to France. They traveled elsewhere, of course, most particularly to Spain and Italy. However, charters and correspondence place Baudouin II in Paris in 1262–1263, again in 1266, and after the treaty of Viterbo in 1268–1269. Philippe was in Louis IX's company in 1261–1262, at least, and spent further time in Paris and in Hainaut. The Latin emperor may have held out hope for further aid from Louis IX.

In 1262, the papacy still lodged its hopes in the French, from which important help had come in the past. Papal letters recruiting help for Constantinople were directed toward bishops and other religious and secular men in France and Flanders. In his two prior Western visits, Baudouin II had sought aid there and he did so again after 1261. He was certainly in Paris for significant periods of time. But this destination, so lucrative in the 1230s, was no longer, by the 1260s, a siginificant source of aid for the Latin Empire. He had greater luck with Manfred, Alfonso X of Castile, the papacy and, finally, Charles d'Anjou, men who had self-interest in recovering Constantinople.

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[981] Brouwers, *L'administration*, IV, part 1, pp 106-7, no. 148: "de consilio excellentissimi domini nostri Ludovici, Dei gratia regis Francorum illustris, et aliorum amicorum nostrorum."

[982] Ibid., IV, part 1, pp 107-10, no. 149: "de consilio excellentissimi domini L[udovici], Dei gratia regis Francorum illustris, consanguinei nostri et aliorum amicorum nostrorum."

The charter evidence confirms Baudouin II's connection with France and the Western lands that remained to him. Although he appears most frequently in these years selling Namur and negotiating about the Latin Empire, his return to Europe resulted in engagement with his other Western lands. In June of 1263, he was at Douai, perhaps in the company of the count of Flanders at his castle there.[983] That same spring, he wrote to the pope about the office of treasurer in the church of Saint Savior at Harlebecke, a town about twenty-five miles from Ghent.[984] This town concerned him again the next year, when he requested that the countess of Flanders and Hainaut approve a market he had established there.[985] In 1265, he reaffirmed the market and noted that any serfs who had been in the town a year and a day would have the liberties of the burgesses of the city.[986]

Starting in the mid-1260s, Baudouin II and Marie took a further interest in their French lands. In 1264, a conflict was resolved with the priory in Andresny, near Paris. A problem had arisen with Baudouin II's men and the prior appealed to Baudouin II. He appointed two men, Guillermus de Locto and Albericus de Pratis, to look into the matter. They ruled in favor of the priory and Baudouin II ordered what was seized to be returned. In June of 1266, he used his woods at Piphon and Chantecoc to pay Marie's debts to an impressive array of religious institutions and individuals—the prior of Courtenay, the prior of Andresy near Paris, the abbesse of Rosay, the prior of Codou, and a lengthy series of individuals, including the son of Jean of Syria, a knight who had

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[983] Galliot, *Histoire générale*, VI: 20-22.
[984] Jordan, *Registres d'Clément IV*, IV: 33.
[985] Wauters, *Table chronologique*, V: 313.
[986] Ibid., V: 337-38.

accompanied Jean le Brebant, and many others.[987] Marie had presumably been spending time at Courtenay, since she incurred debts there. In fact, the list, with many items recording loans of relative small sums—ten livres parsis, thirty-two livres parsis, forty solidi—conveys the distinct impression that she borrowed money to pay for her ongoing expenses wherever she went. The document does not specify when the debts were incurred; however, the length of the list suggests that they were done so over several years. Moreover, since they were identified as Marie's debts, they were almost certainly made in the absence of Baudouin II, during her various travels around Europe in the previous decade. Finally, the timing, in 1266, suggests that, even after Baudouin II arrived in Europe, the couple traveled separately, presumably to spread out their fund-raising power.

The king of France appointed two men to collect the monies and distribute them to Baudouin II and Marie's creditors. If these woods did not generate enough income to repay the debts within six years, then Baudouin II's possessions at Courtenay would be liable to be used for this purpose. Baudouin II's actions here demonstrate the Courtenays' lack of funds, but also his ability, with royal support, to exploit his lands.

This was not Baudouin II's only involvement in his paternal inheritance. In July of 1268, Baudouin II acknowledged a payment of Marguerite, countess of Flanders, toward the twenty thousand livres owed to him for the sale of Namur. He did so in Courtenay. The following year he entered into an agreement with the Hospitallers about rights to justice in Courtenay.[988] What else he did there—managing his lands, repaying debts, exacting monies—has been lost with the destruction of the archives of

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[987] *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, IV: 174-77, no. 5158.
[988] Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs française jusqu'à la conquête des turcs*, I: 467-68, no. XXVI; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartres*, IV: 375, no. 5566.

the Loiret, if not long before. The archives of Yonne do yield several documents, from 1275, 1283, and 1286, showing that, after Baudouin II's death, Marie and their son Philippe were involved in Courtenay, confirming donations, recognizing obligations, and addressing issues of jurisdiction.[989] Baudouin II's prestige, his closeness with the Capetians, and, of course, the vagaries of inheritance allowed him to preserve ownership over at least some of his territories in the West. His exile from Constantinople allowed him to be involved with these territories. But as the previous section shows, he never lost sight of his lost empire.

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Angold claimed that "the Latins in the Levant failed to evolve any clear identity. Increasingly, they saw themselves as an offshoot in France."[990] Yet in the pages of this dissertation, I hope, a very different picture has emerged. In their relations with the west and their neighbors, the men and women who settled in Constantinople and their descendants acted in ways startling to their French contemporaries and displayed remarkable streaks of independence.

The Latin Empire was the creation of a crusade, and the conquest of Constantinople was justified, in part, by the obstinance of the Greek church. The Franks were supported by popes who evoked, especially in later decades, the danger posed to the Roman church as a reason to support the Latin Empire. Yet the Franks cared more about language and customs than they did about religion. In Henri's reign, the Bulgarians were less acceptable than the Greeks as marriage partners because of language and customs, not religion. Greeks living under his rule even saw Henri as a

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[989] Quantin, *Recueil de pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire général de L'Yonne, XIIIe siècle*, p. 345, no. 684. AD Yonne, G 230, fol 239 r; AD Yonne, G 229, fol 9 r.; AD Yonne, G 232, p 116.
[990] Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 226.

potential ally and advocate. In the 1210s and 1220s, the Franks sought marriages and alliances with Nicaea. For Baudouin II, a sultan's dignified behavior compensated for his religious difference and made him an acceptable, even desirable, political and marriage partner.

The Franks, particularly the Courtenay emperors and empresses, maintained their connections with France and the Capetians, connections founded in kinship and lordship. They relied heavily on the papacy for recruitment and fundraising. But these associations did not prevent the Courtenays from seeking aid from the Hohenstaufen, even, after 1261, promoting Manfred's cause despite the harm it would do to Charles d'Anjou's ambitions.

One final example: From the mid-1230s to the mid-1250s, Baudouin II and Marie struggled to establish and maintain control over Namur and use that territory to raise funds. In the end, however, the Latin emperor was willing to alienate this land, as he had been eager to do so with Courtenay years earlier, in order to recover Constantinople. In the mid-1260s, Baudouin II turned to revenue from his western lands to pay debts incurred during Marie's time in the west. These transactions show Baudouin II's ability to act as a French aristocrat, but also his fundamentally eastern priorities.

The example of the Morea suggests a possible trajectory for the Franks in Constantinople, had the events of 1261 not interceded. The Franks in the Peloponnese were not exiled in the 1260s, despite the increasing pressure from the Byzantines after the battle at Pelogonia and the capture of Constantinople. In 1267 at Viterbo, Guillaume de Villehardouin bound his principalitity to the Angevins, who sought to

control the Morea by selecting husbands for Villehardouin heiresses and sending *baillis*. As Shawcross has shown, this arrangement, which dramatically increased the contact between Franks and Europeans, did not result in assimilation. To the contrary, close contacts with others, specifically new arrivals from Europe and Byzantine neighbors, heightened the Moreot identity.[991] In Constantinople, the barons' reaction to Robert's behavior in the 1220s, their re-assertion of power after the death of Jean de Brienne, and their general participation in the affairs of governance reveal a nascent identity that might, over time, have developed into a distinct ethnic identity.

Instead, 1261 marked the beginning of Franks' re-integration into European politics. The exile of the Franks from Constantinople resulted in a level of contact and integration between the Franks and Westerners not seen previously. In addition to the barons who settled in the Morea and those who gained land from Manfred in southern Italy, other Franks entered into the service of the Angevins. The Toucys, one of the most prominent families in Constantinople, served as admirals in his navy.[992] The Aulnays, one of whom was the marshal of the Latin Empire, also contributed a number of members to the Angevin government.[993] All of Baudouin II's years in the Capetian court were nothing compared to this incorporation of the Frankish barons into the Angevin court. In Greece, it was the Angevins who came to the Franks, but, similarly, Westerners and Franks were in contact as never before.[994]

The connections among the Aegean states, France, Flanders and the Angevin world continued long after the death of Baudouin II and the Sicilian Vespers. Baudouin

[991] Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp 203-41.
[992] Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou*, pp 73, 92, 125, 177, 187-88, 193, 223.
[993] Ibid., p. 122.
[994] For a discussion of the ramifications of these close encounters see Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp 242-59.

II and Marie's descendents were born and raised in an Angevin milieu but their claim to Constantinople was repeatedly asserted, through their titles and their marriages. Philippe and Béatrice's daughter and granddauther, both named Catherine, married, respectively, grandsons of Louis IX and Charles d'Anjou. These women, despite their limited western holdings and claim to a far-off and lost empire, were sought after. Complex political negotiations accompanied their marriages—at one point a marriage seemed possible between Catherine I de Courtenay and the son of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus and Catherine II de Valois's marriage in 1313 to Philippe d'Anjou involved a many-sided transaction involving her French lands and Louis de Bourgogne's inheritance of the Morea.[995] The Courtenays never returned to Constantinople, but they continued to employ the imperial title.[996] They also retained a claim over the Morea and Catherine II de Valois spent two and a half years ruling there.[997] The Angevin involvement in Frankish Greece kept the western claim to Constantinople alive, in word if never in deed.

[995] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 281, 302-4.
[996] See Arsenal, MS 6023, nos. 40 and 44. In 1336 Philip VI, in a document addressing the question of the boundaries of Courtenay and other lands, referred to Catherine as "emperris de Costentinople" and "dame de Courtenay." Arsenal, MS 6023, no. 59.
[997] Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée*, pp 323-25.

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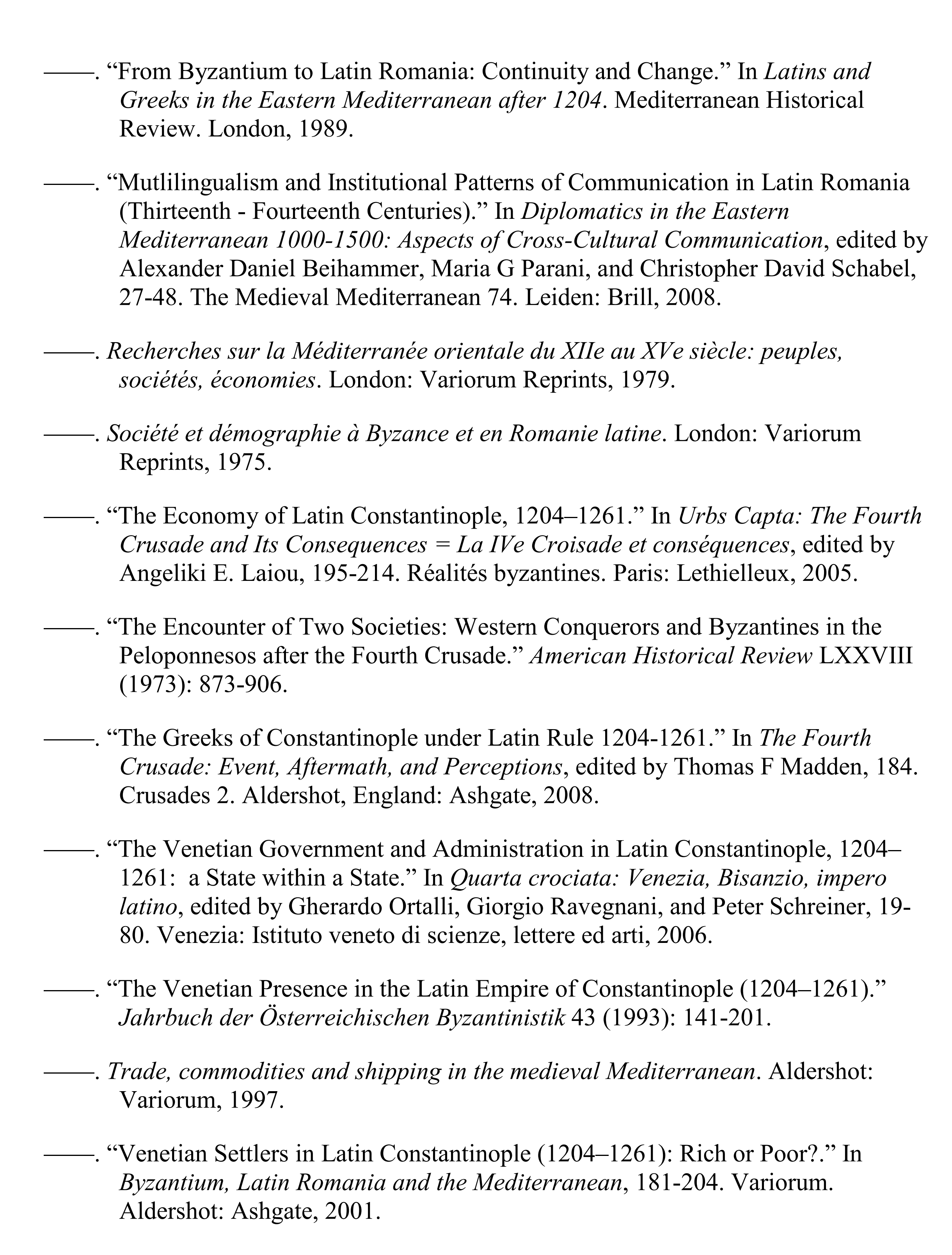
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